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Kozyrev's Geneva Agenda, Activities Outlined

PM1402125892 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Feb 92 First Edition p 3

[ITAR-TASS report under the "Diplomacy" rubric: "A. Kozyrev's Visit to Geneva"]

[Text] The program for Russian Federation Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's one-day visit to Geneva was extremely busy. Speaking at a plenary session of the Disarmament Conference, he put forward a number of concrete proposals for the implementation of the recent Russian initiatives concerning strategic offensive arms and called on the participants radically to reassess the entire military-strategic situation in the world and, correspondingly, nuclear military doctrines.

Great interest was aroused among members of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which is currently in session in Geneva, by his exposition of the position of the Russian Government and parliament on the whole range of questions of observing human rights. Stressing Russia's commitment to generally recognized international standards in the human rights sphere, the minister did not conceal the fact that much work still lies ahead in this sphere to eradicate practices which still lead to the flouting of individuals' interests and the violation of their rights. The problem of refugees from regions in the grip of interethnic conflicts remains acute.

"The New Face of Russia in the International Arena"—Andrey Kozyrev delivered a report with that title at the Geneva International Research Institute. All the time left over from these key speeches was devoted to meetings with leaders of the UN European Department, the Disarmament Conference, and the special committee of that conference on chemical weapons.

At the end of the day the Russian foreign minister left Geneva for home.

Kozyrev Comments on Parity

PM1402115192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by Aleksandr Golts: "Does Russia Need Parity? About Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's Sensational Remarks"]

[Text] Let us pay due tribute to Russian foreign policy, which only recently was being accused of not being vigorous enough. Now everything is different. Even after the end of B. Yeltsin's foreign trip Moscow diplomacy has been managing to remain in the center of the whole world's attention. Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev's stay in Geneva, where he took part in the work of the Disarmament Conference, brought another sensation. Admittedly, the main sensation was his speech at the Geneva institute for international studies. In his report there Kozyrev declared: "The renewed Russia sees no need to constantly maintain parity and is not seeking to ensure that it has just as many armaments as the United States or any other power."

I would note that this statement was a surprise only because of its clarity and lack of equivocation. Essentially that could have been the only possible conclusion from B. Yeltsin's recent disarmament initiatives. Indeed, what is the point of parity (in our economic situation) if the United States is no longer regarded as a potential military rival? Admittedly, the question arises of what other criteria besides parity will be taken into account in ensuring national security. And against the might of which states does Russia now intend to measure its defense programs?

However, as A. Kozyrev's other, this time "official" speech at the plenary session of the Disarmament Conference indicates, Russia is proposing for the moment that world security be ensured precisely on the basis of parity by all the nuclear powers.

This speech made yet another attempt to clarify the complex of large-scale proposals in the disarmament sphere that Russia has put forward recently. Thus a new interpretation of the rather confused question of the retargeting of missiles was proposed. A. Kozyrev has now proposed examining the possibility of removing from combat alert status [boyevoye dezhurstvo] the strategic forces of Russia, the United States, and the other nuclear powers targeted on each other's territory and facilities thereby achieving "zero combat readiness." The Russian minister also sees as useful a measure like separate storage of nuclear weapon delivery vehicles and the warheads themselves. ICBM's would be in their launchers without nose cones. Sea-launched missiles would be unloaded from submarines at their bases. The nuclear arms of heavy bombers would be kept at central storage sites.

While paying tribute to Russia's consistent desire to create a genuine nuclear-free world, I nevertheless want to express doubt as to the possibility of implementing these proposals. It is unlikely that the initiatives will be greeted positively in Washington, which, along with Moscow, must make the main contribution to resolving these tasks (the other nuclear powers, in A. Kozyrev's opinion, could join in the process of nuclear disarmament later). But, so far as I understand, the Americans have no intention of abandoning nuclear deterrence either now or in the foreseeable future. And the separate storage of missiles and warheads, which presupposes that it would take quite a considerable time from the strategic viewpoint to bring missiles into a state of combat readiness, essentially undermines this concept.

There is a problem connected with the need to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons. As A. Kozyrev declared, Russia is now taking measures to ensure that several nuclear powers do not arise in place of the USSR. Here it is proceeding from the premise that Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan will accede to the nuclear nonproliferation treaty. This is a fair and considered

approach. I would like to hope that it, like the Russian initiatives in the sphere of nuclear disarmament, has actually been coordinated with the other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states. A. Kozyrev's speech also touched on B.Yeltsin's proposed elaboration of a joint global system of defense in place of SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative]. In the minister's opinion it is a case of a program for performing joint research work which, inter alia, would help resolve one problem which so perturbs the West. That is the problem of the possible "brain drain" from our nuclear complex. In this connection I permit myself to mention that SDI was initially planned as a nonnuclear program. Later there was talk of the "nuclear excitation" of lasers intended to destroy enemy missiles. Yet to judge by press reports B. Yeltsin is suggesting creating exclusively a system for tracking and early warning. So that even now it is not entirely clear what the thousands of our nuclear specialists will do within the framework of this project.

I write this by no means to cast doubt on the scale of the measures Russia is proposing. It is perfectly obvious that they were generated by Moscow's radical reassessment of the strategic situation in the world and of its own nuclear doctrine. It is simply that such is the nature of security problems that in their radical solution special caution and balance are required.

Savelyev Advocates Treaty-Based SDI Share

MK1802103092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with A. Savelyev, vice president of Institute of National Security and Strategic Studies, by Natalya Gorodetskaya; place and date not given: "Opinion: Optimum Scenario for a Joint Defense System For Us Is SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] Aleksandr Savelyev, Vice President of Institute of National Security and Strategic Studies, Thinks. But ABM Treaty Must First Be Repudiated"]

[Text] [Savelyev] SDI [Strategic Defense Initiative] is by no means directed against our country. The system is designed to intercept at most 200 missiles; we have more than 2,000, so this system would not intercept any attack, even a weakened retaliatory nuclear attack, from our country. The Americans have no intention of defending themselves against us—they see the main danger as coming from third countries, as shown by the Gulf war. There is a real danger of the proliferation of nuclear technology and missile technology. For many of our politicians and military people the very name SDI is like a red rag to a bull. The Americans have already invented another name for the program—global protection against limited strikes.

[Gorodetskaya] But we have never taken seriously the danger from third countries.

[Savelyev] At present they have no strategic weapons. Where are the guarantees that they will not develop relatively long-range missiles tomorrow? Why should we rely on these countries' not having enough money or lacking sufficient technological development and expect them not to succeed in achieving that? We must not fail to take into consideration the possibility of an unauthorized missile launch. The situation in our country is that there are three nuclear powers in what was the USSR and seats of instability and tension around.

[Gorodetskaya] Do you think that a space-based defense system will save us?

[Savelyev] In the event of a nuclear war it will not save anyone. But this system will intercept a lone missile no matter where it comes from.

[Gorodetskaya] But the ABM Treaty bans the development [razrabotka], creation, and deployment of ABM defense systems.

[Savelyev] Following the statements by Yeltsin and Kozyrev I think that this treaty is on its last legs. It is far more important to persuade its defenders within the country. The campaign against ABM defense that began after Reagan put forward the Strategic Defense Initiative in 1983 has accomplished its task, and voices can now be heard charging opponents of ABM with fueling the arms race. It is claimed that this treaty supposedly bans nuclear weapons from being put into near-earth space. Nothing of the kind; that is regulated by the 1967 treaty on space. Incidentally, in our long hatred of SDI it was somehow forgotten that the 1972 ABM Treaty was concluded on the initiative of the United States; the Americans made great efforts to prove that the limited deployment of ABM defense could undermine strategic stability. In 1967 Kosygin issued a blunt statement saying that it was strictly up to the state to protect the population against a possible attack—including a missile attack.

[Gorodetsaya] You think that it is preferable for us to subscribe to SDI rather than developing a "joint global defense system" in its place. Why?

[Savelyev]) The Americans have spent several tens of billions of dollars on their program. This means that all new "global progams" will be based in one way or another on developments already made. We simply cannot conduct studies on an equal footing and put billions into them. What is more, Russia does not even have a cosmodrome. It is far more beneficial for us to join an existing program. The Americans want to spend money on their own security. There is no need to stop them. We must join this system, thus deriving the maximum benefit for ourselves. The U.S. ABM defense system presupposes the deployment of 1,000 ground-based and 1,000 space-based intercepts. This system will be sufficiently limited for there to be no talk of an arms race. Let us ratify these ideas in a new treaty. Let us sign an agreement linked with predictability and confidence-building measures. Admittedly, it would be unrealistic to talk about dual control of the system—as we have been accustomed from our position as a superpower. We must not take part in this program on a full basis and demand

that the sides are equal in commissioning and controlling the system. The system will exist—it presents no danger to us—and will be able to defend us.

[Gorodetskaya] Is that not too much of a consumerist approach to cooperation?

[Savelyev] The Americans consider this system extremely essential for their defense. They have the money. Unlike us they also have tremendous experience of getting a return from military developments in the nonmilitary sphere. And relations between allies are somewhat different. A struggle is under way in NATO as to who will pay less. That is fine. On the other hand we will show in practice that we do not regard the United States as a potential adversary. We only have to formulate rapidly and clearly new Russian-U.S. agreements on space and ABM defense—limited defense, naturally—and we will be able to sleep soundly.

[Gorodetskaya] Apart from being able to sleep soundly, what will we gain from joining the U.S. ABM defense system?

[Savelyev] Russia has no defense system at all now, most of the radars were left in the republics, and there are only 100 nuclear-tipped missile intercepts around Moscow. The possibility of a nuclear explosion over the city to repulse a nuclear attack is still in question. So we will get at least something right away. Then, I think, we will be able to develop our own ABM defense system.

Unit Commander Concerned at Pace of Arms Cuts

PM1802105792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by E. Gindileyev, from the Voronezh area—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Gindileyev] One of the most secret military units of the former land of the Soviets—a combined unit of the strategic deterrent forces—lies hidden deep in the woods on the other side of this swing-beam barrier. Journalists have never set foot here.

However, following the statement by Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the high-speed and large-scale reduction of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, the commander of this combined unit has dared to break his vow of silence and gave an interview to Russian Television, admittedly without revealing his identity for the time being.

[Unidentified officer] You must understand, we officers essentially welcome all the initiatives of our president, especially as regards disarmament of the strategic nuclear forces.

What worries me, however, is the speed and the deadlines which Boris Nikolayevich cited in his statement. It seems to me that not enough thought has gone into this.

[Gindileyev] What worries the combined unit officers is not their career prospects. As professionals they are worried because the country lacks the necessary tried-and-tested technologies, and much else beside. Will this large-scale and high-speed arms reduction not also become the most expensive one as regards our republic?

European Community To Aid Nuclear Scientists

LD1702180692 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Petrov]

[Text] Lisbon February 17 ITAR-TASS—The European Community's ministers of foreign affairs today decided to take part in establishing an international centre in Russia to help convert scientists and specialists from the military-industrial complex to peaceful pursuits and prevent the brain drain that threatens proliferation of nuclear technologies.

The proposal was made by the foreign minister of Federal Germany Hans-Dietrich Genscher during the EC Ministerial Council in Lisbon.

Genscher said the United States will provide 25 million dollars to build the centre and finance its projects and the European Community will allocate 50 million ECU [European currency units].

Liquidation of Poisonous Substances Cited

OW1402155392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov, Igor Porshnev, and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"—transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Forty thousand tons of poisonous substances are stockpiled on Russian soil. Together with the weight of the ammunition Russia's chemical arsenal, the world's biggest, makes up some 400 thousand tons [as received]. DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent learned this from Grigoriy Berdennikov, a leading disarmament expert in Russia's Foreign Ministry.

According to him, the Disarmament Conference in progress in Geneva has already drafted a more than 200-page convention on banning chemical weapons. The talks involve spokesmen for 39 countries who take decisions by consensus, and about as many observers from other countries. G. Bordennikov believes that the convention might be signed as early as this year, as the Russian President B. Yeltsin said in his message read to participants in the conference recently.

The convention aims to destroy all chemical weapons and prohibit their development and production, the expert pointed out. Much will depend on whether the efforts to make the document universal and mandatory to all countries without exception (including Iraq) prove to be successful or not. Russia whose territory harbours

all chemical arms of the former USSR is working out a program for their destruction.

This involves highly toxic and dangerous chemicals which creates certain difficulties in the process of destruction. In the first place, the process of liquidating poisonous substances should be ecologically safe. Russia, G. Berdennikov said, "is open to cooperation in this area with other countries, such as the U.S., with which it began consultations long ago".

Since the public in the city of Chapayevsk opposed the plans to use a local plant for destroying chemical arms, the main problem to be resolved now is the choice of another site. According to the Russian Foreign Ministry expert, the process of destroying poisonous substances will begin at one site or another only when the consent of the local public and authorities is obtained.

Uranium Still Being Mined, Produced, Sold

LD1402115792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Video report by correspondent I. Shestakov, including remarks by V. Pirogov, deputy general director of Yuzhpolimetall enterprise, on uranium production—from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Video shows factory scenes, interior and exterior, throughout] Even though the last reactor that produced the filling for nuclear bombs has been stopped, uranium is still nevertheless being mined. The uranium industry is the only one that has proved impossible to split up during the division of the Union, simply because not a single republic—except perhaps Russia—is able to produce pure uranium unaided. The enterprises which take part in the production cycle are scattered throughout the country. Total production costs run into thousands of millions of dollars. One of these chains starts in Kazakhstan, where uranium ore is mined. Later it is sent on to the factories of Yuzhpolimetall in Kyrgyzstan, where the ore undergoes primary processing. [video shows factory nameplate: Southern Polymetallic Combine Production Association—hydrometallurgical works, then yellow powder in a machine and more being held by a worker] This powder is rightly known as product "Number One" among the workers. It is real uranium.

[Video shows correspondent interviewing worker] [Correspondent] How many bombs are made from your uranium?

[Worker, laughing] A lot.

[Shestakov] Now that missiles are no longer being produced the mining of uranium has been cut back sharply. It has been decided to sell the surplus to the West.

[Pirogov] We are selling to two countries so far—the United States and Britain.

[Shestakov] [video shows barrels in storage] The quantity of barrels horrifies the U.S. uranium-producing companies and their trade unions. The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] possesses nearly half of the world's reserves of uranium, and the price of unenriched Russian uranium on the market is just $20. What is particularly important is the fact that the uranium industry is the only sector in the Union that never used to fall down on the mining plan. [Video shows sign: "Danger—testing]. The uranium on offer is of high quality and is produced by the most advanced technology. In this we really have outstripped the Americans. Now the Americans think that the Russians are driving down prices in the market and have complained to the international trade commission. If the commission acknowledges that the prices really are too low, then the European and U.S. market will be closed to our uranium. [video shows notice: "Forbidden zone"]

Nagorno-Karabakh Problem, Mediation Viewed

OW1302161192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov, Igor Porshnev, and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia is willing to continue to take part in the search for solution to the Karabakh problem and work to normalize relations between Armenia and Azerbaijan, both of which are members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States], said Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev, Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister. He conferred in Moscow today with a delegation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) led by Karel Schwarzenberg, head of the chancellery of Czechoslovakia's President V. Havel.

In accordance with its rules, the CSCE sends envoys to its member states on fact-finding missions, in particular with a view to inspecting human rights observance, said K. Schwarzenberg. His delegation is going to Armenia and Azerbaijan with precisely this aim in view, not on a mediatory mission, he stressed.

It is common knowledge that Armenia and Azerbaijan, along with other Soviet republics that joined the CIS, were admitted to the CSCE late last month (at the session held in Prague by the foreign ministers council of CSCE countries). CSCE delegations will be sent to all these states, said K. Schwarzenberg.

The CSCE delegation led by K. Schwarzenberg includes delegates from the U.S., Britain, Norway, the Netherlands and other countries. As DP [Diplomatic Panorama] has learned, it will leave for Azerbaijan today. The delegation is expected to visit Nagorno-Karabakh tomorrow. On Saturday [15 February] it is to arrive in Armenia.

CIS Peacekeeping Force Proposed

OW1702141692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1333 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Russian Foreign Ministry official has said setting up an international peacekeeping force within the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] would meet Russia's national interests. He told IF [INTERFAX] that the ministry was now considering the project which he said was "supported in principle by a number of CIS member states."

The diplomat did not rule out the possibility that such a force, if it were ever to be set up, might be sent to Nagorno-Karabakh (a move favored by Armenia—IF). Such conflicts, in his view, should be "actively settled" not only by the international community but also by the CIS.

*** Fuad Gadzhiyev, senior official of the Azeri mission in Moscow, did not rule out in a conversation with our reporter that a CIS peacekeeping force could play a certain role; at least it could be "a topic for discussion". He noted, however, that forming such a force now and sending it to Nagorno-Karabakh would be "a hasty move" that might be interpreted by Azerbaijan as a violation of its sovereignty and interference in its internal affairs.

According to Gadzhiyev, the Azeri leadership had not—at least until recently—discussed the sending of any peacekeeping forces, not even U.N. blue helmets, to Nagorno-Karabakh, since "everything going on in Karabakh is an exclusively internal affair of Azerbaijan." He said the government of Azerbaijan was in favor of dealing with the Karabakh problem in a way ruling out any outside interference or threat to the republic's territorial integrity.

F. Gadzhiyev said his country would be ready to receive observers from any international organization to clear up the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, and cited the presence of the CSCE mission in Azerbaijan as evidence of that readiness. He dismissed as groundless the reports that the Azeri authorities had prevented the CSCE delegation from visiting Karabakh. "We awaited the delegation's arrival in Karabakh as a measure meeting Azerbaijan's interests," he said.

Delegates Invited to Moscow

LD1602163792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1552 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] Karabakh-Moscow, 16 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs has sent official invitations to state delegations from Azerbaijan and Armenia to come to Moscow on 20 February for talks on settling the issues connected with the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate announced today.

Accord on this was reached during the meeting between heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States' member states in Minsk on 14 February by Presidents Boris Yeltsin, Ayaz Mutalibov, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, who approved an initiative by the foreign ministers of Russia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia on starting these talks. This initiative was put forward in Istanbul at a conference on Black Sea cooperation.

'Rumors' of POW's in Uzbekistan Explored

MK1502151592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 15 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Artem Rondarev: "Traces of American Prisoners Lost in the Uzbek Sands?"]

[Text] Moscow-Bukhara-Moscow—"The East is a subtle thing," Comrade Sukhov used to say. Oleg Kalugin, who raised a storm with his statement about U.S. prisoners of war held in Central Asian jails did not take that into

consideration. The hullaballoo over what he said was one-sided. Denial followed upon denial, the chief babay said "No," and the people gathered to give testimony dispersed. Suddenly by chance I found myself mixed up in a story that occurred before I was even in the planning stage.

It happened like this: I received a telephone call from an old friend of my father, a man who had spent several years in Central Asia working as the leader of a team of convicts building the city of Navoi. He said that he had information that might help the investigation.

The information in short was this: In 1966 he visited an Uzbek family, who wanted to thank him for some favor. There were three brothers in the family. One was the storekeeper at the village's only store, another was a herdsman, and the third was a hairdresser in a restricted institution. The latter bothered my storyteller, and he began to wonder what kind of restricted place this was—a mental asylum or a leper colony. No, he was told, foreigners are kept in this place, mainly Americans. They do not have set terms, black maria vehicles drive out there from time to time—they take someone away and bring someone in. They stay there for a few months and then disappear.

My informant gave a precise address: the "Oktyabr" collective farm, Karakulskiy Rayon, Bukhara Oblast. This information interested me, and with a film crew I went to look for boots bearing the inscription "Made in the U.S.A." I realized how naive my initial impulse had been at the collective farm administration office. Uzbekistan is a country of taciturn, frightened people. After our conversation, the collective farm chairman hurriedly made off to Tashkent. We only had to talk to a herdsman for him to bolt off to Samarkand an hour later. Had we spent another day at the collective farm, it would have been simply deserted.

In short, the results of our search are as follows: There is a former home for alcoholics on the outskirts of the city of Karakul. Local residents assured me to a man that it was always like that and was never guarded; however the hairdresser that we found (the wrong one, admittedly) said two things about this home quite clearly in Russian: "restricted institution" and "military guard." Despite the fact that he did not know any Russian at all. Those words related to 1964-1967 and were denied all around by all his fellow villagers, one of whom turned out to be the former rayon party committee secretary, who repeated insistently: "Tell the top man that there was nothing here. We all want communism!" With this parting shot, we went off to another village located next to a former missile unit.

There we were told that about 20 years ago, the unit's launchers downed a U.S. aircraft. People drove out of the city to investigate. The pilot survived, but, naturally, his fate is unknown.

"There is a man," a woman told us, "who knows all about this aircraft."

We found this man. However, he went totally blank and said that the whole village was telling lies and that nothing of the kind had happened. Obviously, he also liked communism.

Finally, in the course of long questioning we came across a man who answered our description. Ashurov Mekhmon—his older brother is a storekeeper and his middle brother a herdsman. How delighted we were! But in vain. The wily oriental heart played a cruel joke on us. Babay Mekhmon, on catching sight of Muscovites, cunningly screwed up his eyes and began to deny everything: He denied that he had brothers and that he spoke Russian; another minute and he would have denied that he was an Uzbek. He had an excellent knowledge of Russian—this was obvious from the way he listened—and he let the cat out the bag by saying that he had no brothers, but he firmly kept to his story as we have been doing for 70 years: I know nothing, I heard nothing, I saw nothing, and I am not in on the story.

The results of our trip may be considered depressing: just rumors, nothing else. But my subjective opinion is that rumors do not come out of nothing. I now have a few questions for competent organs: What kind of aircraft was downed near Karakul, what would they say if a pilot appeared who took U.S. POW's to Sary-Shagan—a major railroad junction from where trains go anywhere—and what kind of troops were guarding the so-called "home for alcoholics?" Too many of the details in the story told by the man who spurred me on to do this tally. As Gleb Zheglov used to say, "all you eagle-eyed detectives, go out and find them..."

Kalugin Denies KGB Behind Pope Shooting

LD1802041492 Moscow TASS in English 2015 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Stepanenko]

[Text] Sofia February 17 TASS—Former KGB General Oleg Kalugin has denied the participation of the KGB and the Bulgarian secret police in the attempt to kill Pope Paul II in 1981.

Kalugin has arrived in Sofia to testify about the Bulgarian secret police's activities in the past and the death of Bulgarian dissident Georgiy Markov, who was killed in London in 1978.

He is believed to have been killed with a special device built into his umbrella.

A Bulgarian investigator refused to comment on the information supplied by Kalugin, the BTA news agency said. But in his recent interviews, Kalugin agreed with this version and accused former Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov and his Interior Minister Dimitr Stoyanov for assassinating Markov with the help of the KGB which provided special devices and poison. However, both Zhivkov and Stoyanov denied these allegations.

According to British forensic experts, Markov's death was caused by a tiny ball steeped in a rare poison.

Senators Told No MIA Details in KGB Archives

OW1702142392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1333 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Maj.-Gen. A. Oleynikov, First Deputy Security Minister of the Russian Federation, told U.S. Senators J. Kerry and R. Smith in Moscow on Monday [17 February] that the archives of the former KGB contained no information about U.S. military servicemen who had gone missing during the Korea and Vietnam wars or during spy flights over the USSR border in the 1940-50s. He promised to continue efforts to clarify the fate of missing American servicemen.

Y. Aleksandrov, ex-head of one of the KGB departments, who attended the meeting, told the two senators that his colleague O. Kalugin was wrong in asserting that American POWs had been interrogated by KGB agents in Vietnam after 1973.

U.S. Report on Sub Collision 'Not Accepted'

OW1802113892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The command of the Navy of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] has not accepted the explanations of the American side that the U.S. submarine that collided with a CIS nuclear submarine in the south of the Barents sea on February 11 had not entered Russian territorial waters. It called for sending a protest note to the United States.

According to the Chief Navy Staff in Moscow, the investigation of the incident by the Northern Fleet has been completed. A report by Admiral Ivan Kapitants sent to the CIS Commander in Chief Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov says that at 20:16 on February 11 at the depth of 22 meters a submarine of the CIS Navy was hit from the right near the wheelhouse and then its stern collided with a foreign submarine.

The fact that the incident occurred within Russian territorial waters, the status of which is defined by Russian legislation, increases its gravity.

The report also says that earlier foreign military vessels, for example American, did not cross the area without a special permission from the Russian authorities. "The fact that a foreign submarine secretly operates in our territorial waters arouses legitimate concern in the Russian leadership", the report says.

The report calls for sending together with the Russian Foreign Ministry a note to the U.S. Government. The American side can be invited to resume talks on starting lines of territorial waters and historical bays interrupted in 1990.

According to the Navy staff, the Russian sides thinks that the starting line of its territorial waters lies the entrance of the Kola Bay between Point Tsypnavolok and Kilgin Island. Hence, the 12 mile zone beginning from the line constitutes Russian territorial waters. However, the USA does not recognize this and there have been similar violations in the areas of Sevastopol, Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka. The bilateral talks on the issue held before 1990 produced no tangible results were interrupted. [sentence as received]

Woerner Says CIS Membership 'Not Excluded'

LD1402221992 Moscow TASS in English 2104 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Kleshkov]

[Text] The Hague February 14 TASS—The Commonwealth member countries may become members of the NATO in future, NATO Secretary-General Manfred Woerner told a meeting of the Dutch Atlantic commission to commemorate the 40th anniversary of its foundation.

Although, the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member countries have not made such requests, such a step on their part is not excluded, said Woerner.

At the same time, the CIS member countries should first solve interior problems to acquire the NATO membership, he stressed. They should create stable democratic society with the free market economy to guarantee human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities.

Bessmertnykh on New Center, 'Embryonic' CIS

MK1502140092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Feb 92 p 2

[Interview with Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, head of the Political Analysis Center, by Aleksey Luzin; place and date not given: "CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]: The Commonwealth Is Still an Embryonic Formation"—first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, former foreign minister, is now head of the Political Analysis Center. The center's main task, according to Bessmertnykh himself, is to analyze in the most objective way possible the course of internal and external events. The center's specific character resides in the fact that it is engaged in up-to-the-minute analysis rather than long-term academic studies.

In conjunction with the Foreign Policy Association, the center is planning to train diplomatic cadres for the new states, to be specific, high-ranking diplomats—ambassadors, consuls, representatives, and minister counselors.

As for the center's practical activity, the results of its analyses are primarily destined for parliaments, parties, governments, and business circles in Russia and for close and far-off neighbors.

[Luzin] Did the formation of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] have any effect on the main areas of the center's activity?

[Bessmertnykh] Yes, a most significant effect. The situation caused a considerable shift in the priorities in our work. We now concentrate as much as we can on analyzing what is happening within the Commonwealth and analyze the situation in various spheres of the CIS, relations between individual new states, and problems linked with the southern zone of the Commonwealth—for instance the prospects for mutual relations within that zone, which is predominantly a Muslim area, and with neighboring states, which of these republics are starting to display particular activeness, and which will strive to take the lead. This is very serious work.

We are now paying a great deal of attention to the problem of nuclear weapons within the Commonwealth. This is an exceptionally serious matter. The republic leaders are right in paying a great deal of attention to it. There are several layers to this problem and not all of them have been noticed. A great deal has been said about the "button," that is, about control of nuclear weapons. I think that this question has by and large been resolved successfully.

[Luzin] Yet there is one "button"?

[Bessmertnykh] A system of consultations exists. This represents a kind of compromise solution. Of course, from the military-technical viewpoint it is an absurd situation. But from the political viewpoint it is a fairly acceptable mechanism.

There is still the problem of keeping nuclear weapons on the republics' territory, The point is that the weapons came to be there by chance—as a result of the General Staff's strategic planning. That is, all deployments were subordinate to the military-technical and the military-strategic task. Some republics suddenly found themselves the "fortunate" owners of these weapons, after the Union split up.

I think that it would be in these states' interests to get rid of these weapons as fast as possible. The question is how these weapons—particularly if the unstable situation persists in the future—will influence the leaders and politicized public of these states. The danger is that the states could develop an addiction for these "prestigious" kinds of arms.

The problem of tactical nuclear arms is an explosive one, since they could become the property of individual groups of thugs.

Sovereignty must be regarded as an opportunity to develop closer, more productive relations with neighbors than was the case within the Union, which ultimately did not try to please. Yet we on the contrary regard sovereignty and independence as an opportunity to dissociate ourselves from our neighbors and former friends. A sense of national egoism prevails time and time again.

[Luzin] Perhaps that is the objective process involved in any subject taking shape?

[Bessmertnykh] I think that this is the product of the period of transition. It will undoubtedly pass. For a politician today the whole question is whether this transitional period will drag on too long. In these conditions a politician must take extremely good care and attention so as not to come up against unforeseen consequences.

[Luzin] In your view, is the formation of the CIS the road leading to the final breakup of the Union, or is it a stage toward the emergence of a new Union? What is the trend?

[Bessmertnykh] At present the trend is not clearly defined. Everything will depend on the art of Russian diplomacy, on the new states' diplomacy, on priorities being established correctly in Russia's foreign policy. Russia has been recognized as the successor and effective rightful heir of the former Union. If we make miscalculations now, instead of the economic area's coupling mechanism [styazhka] starting to operate again, it will disintegrate once and for all.

I think that Russia must pay particular attention to the specific nature of its relations with neighboring republics. Nothing terrible will happen if Russia concentrates—as its number one priority—on developing relations with these states. The economic area can be restored, and it could embrace not only members of the CIS but also, say, the Baltics. I think that economic mutual attraction [vzaimoprityazheniye] will come into play—more and more.

It is absolutely essential to preserve the single military-strategic area. Of all areas—political, economic, and military-strategic—the military-strategic area has hitherto remained intact. It must be protected. It must ensure the collective security of the entire Commonwealth. If we break up this area through our own foolishness, Russian security will suffer along with that of every other member of the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth is still an embryonic formation. But it is still good that it exists. I think that the states will increasingly feel the pull of integration. The future of the Commonwealth means economic cooperation, a unified military-strategic area, and just a thin layer of political mutual understanding.

[Luzin] You have now broached the problem of security. In your opinion, is the Commonwealth countries' level of security today lower than before the formation of the CIS or not?

[Bessmertnykh] I do not think that the level of security has fallen significantly. It does depend, after all, not only

on your own readiness to "deal a rebuff" but also on the degree of risk around the country. A paradox has occurred whereby our ability to defend ourselves has grown weaker, but at the same time the intensity of the external threat has also slackened off. The world has changed. Our former enemies are increasingly becoming our partners. But we must not be supremely naive here. If in the future we do disintegrate, if every republic wants its own army—and not every republic is capable of maintaining a strong, well-equipped army—overall security will undoubtedly suffer.

[Luzin] What do you think about Russia's intention of joining NATO?

[Bessmertnykh] I do not think that it should do so now. The situation would become absurd. I do not think that the Russian leadership intended to do this in the near future. It is most likely a question of the long term. If you are talking about the need for a unified army and unified control over the arms, and suddenly part of all that joins NATO (the whole Commonwealth cannot join NATO, even with bloc status), then that policy is blown apart by glaring contradiction.

[Luzin] What do you think of the Americans' being given plans showing the location of bugs in their Moscow Embassy?

[Bessmertnykh] As a professional I find Bakatin's action totally incomprehensible. As far as I am aware, even the Americans were stunned by the generosity of the gift. They are not accustomed to this, since they prefer to do business with a strong partner who does not toady to them. This action, whatever good intentions were behind it, has put us in an awkward position. We should have reached a gentlemen's agreement for us to be given plans showing the location of bugs in the Russian Embassy in the United States. For more than five years now our specialists have been finding high-tech buys there. It is important to ensure the calm, reliable operation of the Moscow and Washington embassies.

[Luzin] How would you describe the reorganization processes taking place in the Foreign Ministry? What is your opinion of the results of the CIS foreign ministers' meeting and, in particular, the problem of sharing out property abroad? Will this mean that Russian interests are not represented in some regions? Won't Russia's international prestige suffer as a result?

[Bessmertnykh] The reorganization of the Foreign Ministry is an inevitable process. Since some priorities in foreign policy will change, perestroyka is needed in the Foreign Ministry's internal structure (although I do not sympathize with Pankov's idea of merging the Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations).

Anything that is a matter of necessity for the Foreign Ministry must be done. The Russian Foreign Ministry will differ from the Union ministry above all in terms of scale and the tradition of foreign-policy priorities.

I would like the new reformers to avoid a purely pro forma approach to the reorganization of such a delicate service. Regrettably, it has already become universally fashionable for every new leadership when it comes to power to undertake some kind of reform whether or not it is necessary. I am concerned in this connection by the fact that of late there has been a tendency for professionalism to be washed out of government structures. It sometimes turns out to be as Pythagoras said: "In life as in the theater, the bad people hold the best positions." This is dangerous. This means structures becoming overpoliticized. This course of events would have an extremely painful impact on the diplomatic service. If reform results in the professional core suffering for some political reasons, foreign policy will suffer as a result, as will the state.

The main thing is that the reform must ensure that foreign policy becomes more effective. It is necessary not so much to move people from floor to floor, but to carefully determine priorities in politics. Correctly formulated policy itself reforms the structure. I think that the new Foreign Ministry leadership understands this task.

[Luzin] I would like to find out your view of Russia's relations with Ukraine?

[Bessmertnykh] I am concerned at the recent cracks in Ukrainian-Russian relations. This is the worst thing that could happen to the Commonwealth as far as its future is concerned. If these cracks are allowed to develop into major clashes, the national interests of Russia, Ukraine, and the whole Commonwealth would suffer. I am inclined to regard all the fervor that has arisen as part of the transitional nature of the times in which we are living. But the trouble is that difficulties occasioned by the transitional nature of the moment may become burdensome, harden, and become fairly permanent if we do not resolve them immediately. They could develop into a chronic ailment. Therefore the heads of state—since a great deal depends on them today, since they are the leaders of public opinion—must be exceptionally cautious and moderate in what they say and do. Foreign policy puts immense pressure on them, Many of them came to power atop the wave of nationalist outbursts and to a certain extent found themselves their prisoner. That is why they have to look at the problem of mutual relations in the cold light of reality. The strong-arm elements that are, regrettably, starting to appear on the horizon only worsen the situation. In order to arrive at the correct opinion, all the alternatives need to be set out—ranging from the most favorable to the worst—and, after considering the consequences of a particular decision, the only correct option must be chosen. Any kind of improvization—and regrettably this is occurring in present-day politics—could have unexpected consequences for everyone.

Commonwealth

Further on Events at Minsk Summit Meeting

14 Army Documents Discussed

PM1402140792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by A. Krayniy under the general heading "What Will Be Decided Today in Minsk": "The Army"]

[Text] What package of documents on the Army are the sovereign states' leaders discussing in Minsk? In all, there are 14 documents: the agreement on forming the single military budget, the agreement on the powers of the supreme organs of the sovereign states on defense questions, the statute on the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces Main Command, and the agreement on the legal foundations of the activity of the army, which confirms the validity of existing military legal acts insofar as they do not contravene the agreements reached within the CIS framework. It is also proposed to grant the Armed Forces commander in chief the right to enact temporary military regulations until 1995. Specialists hope that in Minsk it will be possible to agree the principles and procedure for the fulfillment of the Treaty on the Reduction and Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms and the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces.

There is much to suggest, unfortunately, that the leaders may not reach agreement: There are different aspirations, wishes, and ambitions and indeed the element of impatience—some want **their own** army more quickly. This cannot be ignored, but even so let us hope for the best.

However, as the TURAN agency reports from Baku, President Mutalibov intends to support Ukraine in Minsk, to advocate the same position as it, and to strive for the nationalization of armed units stationed in Azerbaijan as well as the division of the Caspian Flotilla. In passing Ayaz Mutalibov has asked Yeltsin to withdraw the motorized rifle regiment from Khankendy (Stepanakert).

Judging by this report, in the event of the escalation of the Karabakh conflict Azerbaijan wants to be ready to repulse possible aggression. With regard to the Minsk conference, Ukraine will have a powerful ally.

Kravchuk Interviewed Upon Arrival

OW1402170192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1526 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Speaking in the airport upon his arrival in Minsk today (February 14), Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said he firmly stuck to the view that CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] should not have joint armed forces, for this was only possible in a single state. "CIS is not a state," President Kravchuk stressed. Apart from this, he said, it was clear that having joint armed forces "is dangerous for all of us," for they could be used to strangle the democratic movements in all Commonwealth states.

As regards the Black Sea Fleet, the Ukrainian President doubted the issue could be resolved in the course of the Minsk summits though he expressed the hope that at least basic principles would be worked out in the Belarussian capital for the solution of the naval problem.

President Kravchuk said he would like to have a bilateral meeting with Russian President Yeltsin in Minsk and emphasized that they needed no mediators.

Speaking about economic problems to be dealt with in the course of the summit, Mr. Kravchuk expressed the hope that the meeting would work out an agreement on economic relations within CIS. "It would be a mistake to assume that Russia can strangle Ukraine economically by refusing to sign such an agreement," he said. "Yes, Russia is able to do this, but thereby it'll kill itself as well—it'll simply die a day later."

Nazarbayev Proposes Initiatives

LD1402131792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Report from Minsk by correspondent Leonid Sviridov]

[Text] The meeting of the heads of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] member states is continuing in Minsk. An interval was announced at 1400. (Seytkazi Matayev), press secretary of the president of Kazakhstan, spoke to journalists, who are thirsty for any piece of news. He told the journalists that a definitive agenda has not been approved yet. (Matayev) confirmed reports that Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk is chairing the meeting on the proposal of Boris Yeltsin, and that Ukraine and other republics have proposed discussing economic issues.

At the start of discussion on military issues, differences emerged among the republics. Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev proposed new initiatives. He had four proposals:

The first proposal is to declare a transitional period, but Nazarbayev himself disowned that proposal immediately because Moldova, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan already have set up national armed forces. The proposal has been withdrawn.

The second proposal is to set up separate armed forces in each republic, and then to establish a defense alliance.

The third proposal is to allow CIS member states to join the defense alliance at their discretion.

The fourth proposal is to declare all armed forces on the territory of the republics their own national armies, and then to conclude a defense alliance.

According to (Matayev), there was an exchange of views on the wording about what should be considered strategic forces and what should be regarded as conventional armed forces. (Matayev) believes that there are no differences of opinion here, just variant interpretations.

A news conference is being postponed to 1900. There will be a break of one hour at 1530, when the presidents will have lunch. It looks as though the journalists are ready to descend on the presidents with numerous questions. There are 150 CIS journalists and 180 foreign reporters accredited to the meeting of the heads of the CIS member states.

Shaposhnikov Accused of Selling Ships

LD1402142792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Report from Minsk by Correspondent A. Gerasimov; from the "Novosti" newscast presented by Irina Mishina]

[Text] [Mishina] In Minsk today the leaders of the Commonwealth [CIS] states are discussing the CIS military and political agreement. The question of the future of the Soviet Army is being resolved:

[Gerasimov] The conference began at exactly 1100 local time. Heads of state and governments of the Commonwealth countries took their places at a round table in the (Gabilen) Hall of the Belarus Supreme Soviet.

The conference was opened by Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet. At a proposal from Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk was elected chairman of this meeting.

[Begin recording by unidentified man] Taking the situation in the Commonwealth into account, military questions were foremost. The agenda has not been confirmed yet, but right now there is simply a frank exchange of views. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] The views were as follows: At the start of the meeting the Ukrainian president accused Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov of creating a kind of joint stock company that is surreptitiously selling off the Black Sea Fleet; 49 submarines and cruisers figured. The marshal of aviation did not object to this, referring to permission to trade from the president of the Soviet Union [as heard]. Even the commander in chief does not know where the money has gone.

The lofty sides accepted the de facto creation of their own armies in Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, and it looks as if the subject of a unified command of CIS Armed Forces is moving further and further away. The chief counterargument is that a unified command can exist only in a unified state, which does not exist.

During today's meeting, in contrast to previous ones, serious opposition arose among the heads of states, apart from (?the quietly protesting minorities). [video shows outdoor demonstration, man in Army uniform interviewed in a corridor]

[Begin recording of unidentified man in uniform] If today the heads of states do not adopt decisions on these documents and do not ratify them, then the organizing committee will be assembled unilaterally in Moscow, where we will resolve these questions on the social protection of officers in our own way. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] To all appearances, by the time of our next broadcast, the layout of forces will become more accurately defined at the conference of CIS heads of states.

Ukraine Proposes Draft Agreement

OW1402170092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1526 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Ukrainian delegation in Minsk has proposed a draft agreement on legal succession in the ownership of the property of the former USSR. This was the last item proposed for the agenda.

"All the real estate and movables which are being used and directly controlled by government bodies of the former USSR," the draft reads, "shall be divided and transferred to the states which are legal successors of the USSR. The proportion to be appropriated by each state shall depend on its contribution to the creation of such property." "Legal succession shall be considered to have begun on December 1, 1991," the document continues.

Experts doubt, however, that the draft will be discussed by CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] leaders because it was submitted too late (according to the regulations, no item could be put on the agenda which was suggested later than 15 days before the beginning of the meeting).

The Ukrainian delegation has also proposed another draft agreement for the Minsk Summit, one on the return of cultural and historic values to the states in which they were created.

"The Commonwealth member states shall institute an intergovernmental commission on a parity basis charged with the creation of a mechanism and the organization of practical work to return cultural and historic values to Commonwealth member states," the draft reads.

Economic Package Supplements Agenda

OW1402170592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1526 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpt] Thursday [13 February] night, on the eve of the summit, the "purely military" agenda of the heads of

state meeting was supplemented by an economic package which, as experts said, would be taken up by CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] leaders for consideration.

The working group responsible for the preparation of the summit thought it necessary to suggest that CIS leaders consider such issues as a coordinated pricing policy, the regulation of trade and economic relations of CIS member states in 1992, the setting up of coordinating bodies of railway transportation and coordination of CIS electric energy policies. Some experts believed the summit agenda should also be supplemented by a draft protocol on the setting up of a CIS sports council.

However, some experts who were involved in the preparations, express doubts that all 25 items of the enlarged agenda could be discussed. On the eve of the Minsk summit, the preliminary schedule has already been changed significantly. For instance, the final news conference previously scheduled for 13-13:30 local time has been tentatively postponed until 18:00 but is said to be held even later. [passage omitted]

Ukraine 'Rigid,' 'Unyielding'

LD1402200792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Report by A. Moyseyev; from the "Vesti" newscast presented by A. Shashkov]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Moyseyev] One can hardly envy the members of the official delegation who have gathered behind this magic door—they are sweating blood today. However, a common formula for solving military issues was reached. Military experts went to a government residence to finalize a draft accord that basically says: Do as you like. Each republic will decide whether it wants to join the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces or create a national army of its own. As was expected, Ukraine took the most rigid and unyielding stance. At the summit, it was the Ukrainian delegaton that criticized the position of CIS Commander in Chief Marshal Shaposhnikov and the General Staff, accusing them of selling the Black Sea Fleet's property behind Ukraine's back. Through Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich, Belarus also voiced its complaints about the commander in chief, although for a different reason. Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk did not hide his dissatisfaction with the actions of Marshal Shaposhnikov and his military deputies in an interview with journalists.

Leonid Makarovich, it has been reported in the press that you have expressed your annoyance with the fact that you had supported Shaposhnikov for the post of commander in chief at one time. Are you still annoyed?

[Kravchuk] I voiced this view at the Supreme Soviet. I said then that 70 percent of the misunderstandings that arise in the issues of mutual relations between states and commanders of armed forces, I believe, are caused by his deputies if not Marshal Shaposhnikov himself. We have agreed that one should not crudely interfere with one another's internal affairs. If you give orders to a unit stationed in our territory, it should be agreed with the head of state. But this is not being done. In other words, so far I continue to regret this. I still have some time. I would like to see what will happen in a month's time.

Military Discussions Concluded

OW1402180292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] summit in Minsk has finished its discussions on military problems. Eight states have decided to have a joint command for their armed forces. Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan have refused to join the agreement.

The press secretary of the Belarussian Foreign Ministry, Stanislav Ogurtsov, has told journalists that the meeting also discussed setting up a joint command for border troops, a problem which was not on the official agenda. There were disagreements on it, however, so it was decided to postpone its discussion.

Stanislav Ogurtsov said that after lunch the meeting would mainly be handling economic problems. In particular, the Kazakh delegation had suggested discussing the military budgets of the eight republics which had decided to have a joint military command.

Asked which side Belarus was taking, Stanislav Ogurtsov replied, "Belarus is with the majority. During the transitional period (one and a half to two years) it'll be taking part in the creation of joint armed forces for CIS."

'Now Signing' Agreed Documents

LD1402171892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Feb (TASS)—It has been announced here that the working part of the meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] heads of state is finished. Its participants are now signing the agreed documents. [Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian at 1600 GMT on 14 February, citing TASS, reports that "It has been announced here that the working meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States heads of state ended at about 1830 Moscow time [1530 GMT] and the participants are embarking on signing the agreed documents."]

'Most Fierce Debates' Outlined

LD1402174892 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk February 14 TASS—Participants in the current Minsk CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] meeting have come to an agreement on material and technical supply of the Armed Forces, social protection of servicemen, the status of Armed Forces of the Commonwealth member-states, the strategic forces and some other issues, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, chairing the meeting, told correspondents during the meeting's break.

In his opinion, it was organizational and technical issues, not political ones, that provoke the most fierce debates.

"If military overcome in their psychology the barrier that they are no longer the Army of the Soviet Union, which has ceased to exist, but are serving in the Armed Forces of the new states, respect heads of these states and military commanders, and coordinate their activities with them, 70 per cent of acute issues will be settled," said Kravchuk.

The Ukrainian president accused Commander-in-Chief Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov and his deputies of not coordinating with state heads the orders they give to military formations stationed on territories of these states.

Kravchuk expressed the hope decisions on the economic issues on the agenda will be taken during the evening session. "We should eliminate all the obstacles and do everything so that plants do not stop," he noted.

BELTA-TASS correspondents have learned from reliable sources, the major reason hampering the solution of the military issues was stand of some delegations, including Ukrainian and Moldovan, on powers of the Armed Forces commander-in-chief.

Opposing proposals initialed yesterday by defence ministers, heads of these delegations insist that the commander-in-chief no longer has direct control over the strategic forces and the general- purpose forces and that these powers are given to two officials elected with participation of all interested sides. Then, the commander-in-chief will keep only general management of the defence structures of the Commonwealth.

The military, favouring the preservation of the principle of undivided authority and acting bodies of the Armed Forces' management, hold unalterable stand in this respect.

The meeting participants have agreed with Kravchuk's proposal to hold their next summit on March 20 in Kiev.

Kravchuk-Yeltsin Meeting 'Expected'

LD1402172692 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] As already reported, a meeting is expected to take place tomorrow between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents. They are supposed to sign an agreement on the stabilization of economic relations. Russia already has signed two similar documents with Kazakhstan and Belarus. If President Kravchuk agrees to sign the document containing the provision for a single economic space on the basis of mutual benefit, Ukraine then will become the fourth member of the single economic space.

Another major point in the new agreement will be, as expected, an agreement on recognizing the ruble as a common monetary unit for credit and financial accounts. Thus far it is difficult to say whether this document will be signed at the talks between Yeltsin and Kravchuk, but at least it would help open the way for removing the existing contradictions in trade and economic relations between the republics.

'Brief' Yeltsin-Kravchuk Conference

OW1502135792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1334 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the night February 14, in a ceremonial setting, the Russian and the Ukrainian foreign ministers signed an agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations between their countries.

The ceremony was attended by Russian president Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who had brief confidential talks afterwards. According to IF [INTERFAX] sources, among the topics discussed was the future of bilateral economic cooperation.

After the talks the two presidents had their photo taken.

On the same night Boris Yeltsin returned to Moscow.

At the press conference on February 15, Chairman of the Belarussian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich said that in two days Russia and Ukraine would sign an economic agreement. Stanislav Shushkevich said that such a decision had been taken by Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk during their talks in Minsk.

'Atmosphere of Goodwill'

LD1402215192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2110 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Feb (TASS)—"This has already become a good tradition—that all sovereign member states of the Commonwealth take part in our meetings," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk said in his opening remarks at a news conference on the results of the Minsk meeting. He said Georgia was present at the meeting as an observer.

A broad range of military, political, economic, international, and legal matters was considered. Twenty documents were agreed upon and initialed. The number of documents signed is unprecedented. Overall, the meeting took place in an atmosphere of goodwill. Unfortunately, it was not possible to consider a number of

initiatives because of the extremely busy agenda. They will be examined at the next meeting of heads of states to be held in the second half of March in Kiev.

A general approach toward tackling economic issues has been found. All the obstacles barring the conclusion of treaties have been removed. The sides pledged to ensure implementation of interstate agreements on food deliveries. Above all, measures have also been set out to restore economic links between enterprises.

Leonid Kravchuk said that Air Force Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Strategic Armed Forces, has been appointed commander in chief of Strategic Armed Forces and Special Purpose Forces. In Kiev, Shaposhnikov will name candidates for three posts: commander of strategic armed forces, commander of special purpose forces, and chief of the General Staff.

Kravchuk on Nuclear Arms

LD1402223392 Moscow TASS in English 2152 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent—TASS]

[Text] Minsk February 15 TASS—The Commonwealth strategic forces, primarily nuclear ones, are subordinated to the Council of State heads of the Commonwealth and commander-in-chief of these forces Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told a news conference on results of the Minsk summit.

By 1994 the issue of subordination of the strategic forces will not be on the Ukrainian agenda at all, since all the nuclear weapons will be removed from its territory by that time.

Touching on the mechanism of taking decision on the use or non-use of nuclear weapons, the president said special telephones have been placed in the Commonwealth member-countries' capitals. The telephones are connected with the "black box" for recording the content of negotiations between the presidents on this issue and monitoring of the stand of each side.

'Deepening Crisis' 'Papered Over'

LD1402202392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Without an army there cannot be a strong state. It is precisely the Army that currently determines to a large extent how peaceful and stable our life will be in the near future. Therefore, what was being decided in Minsk today was not simply the question of a united army—to a large extent, the future of the Commonwealth was being decided.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent A. Gerasimov] The third Minsk meeting began, at the initiative of the long-serving airman Shaposhnikov, with a display of combat air equipment for the republican leaders at one of the Minsk garrisons. One can only guess at the political motives for such a start. But the meeting itself developed quite logically. It was almost totally devoted to military questions.

First of all, it soothed the world community. Not one of the meeting's participants rejected the idea of united strategic deterrent forces. The nuclear button will remain in the same hands as before. In the opinion of many experts who accompanied the leading officials to the conference of the heads of state, the meeting has, to say the least, not brought the former Union republics close together. At the same time, the optimism of the documents signed increases from one meeting to the next.

The deepening crisis is papered over in fine style by various declarations of cooperation. Officially, none of the participants has rejected the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], but the clear split with regard to the united general purpose armed forces may considerably speed up this process. At one extreme are the eight states that are putting their forces under a united command, and at the other extreme are Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan, which want to take command of the Soviet Army property that is in their territory. Evidently, this course of events motivated the former members of the Union, in one of the documents that was adopted, to conclude an agreement on renouncing the use, or threat of use, of weapons.

[Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev] The Commonwealth, the sort of Commonwealth we want, does not yet cause satisfaction because we do not have any sanctions or strict monitoring of the implementation of our decisions. And when we do actually prepare specific documents, when they are subsequently discussed, the specific elements in them somehow disappear and I personally am not satisfied with the way we postpone some specific questions from one meeting to the next.

[Gerasimov] According to the facts that we have, only a few of the 14 [as heard] planned documents were signed today. The CIS heads of states will hold their next meeting on 20 March in Kiev. Tomorrow in Minsk, there will be talks between Yeltsin and Kravchuk that will be of no less importance than the meeting that has just ended. [end recording]

Defense Officials View Meeting

LD1402190492 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1626 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Military News" section]

[Text] Minsk—Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov: The Ukrainian Army already exists. As many as 352,000 servicemen have sworn allegiance to Ukraine to date. Before the opening of the Commonwealth summit in Minsk, which is devoted to the military issue,

Colonel-General Konstantin Morozov told PF [POST-FACTUM] Ukraine would build its own defense system as befits a sovereign European state. He believes time is past when Moscow could dictate its will to others. Morozov observed this pressure is felt also at the present talks. But this is not the path that can be crowned with success, he said. The basis for agreement is mutual respect for each other's interests. The interests of Ukraine are known. They are bolstered by the strong enough economy, the will by the republic's government and the will of the Ukrainian people. Observers believe it is these factors that played not the least role in shaping the Ukrainian position. It is likewise obvious that not all republics, which were recently part of the Soviet Union, are prepared to take on themselves all cares for the maintenance of their own army. Observers think this may be manifest in several hours after the beginning of the summit and many of the republics may strike a certain defense alliance with Russia.

For instance, Eduard Simonyan, deputy chief adviser on national security issues to the Armenian president, emphasized that the Armenian delegation is against ill-considered decisions and comes out for a transition period that would enable the parties to specify their positions and elaborate mutually coordinated decisions. Simonyan thinks if the Union no longer exists and the Armed Forces cannot be maintained in their old form, they should be reformed both in structure and the form of command. But this work requires time and what is all-important coordination and mutual understanding. Certainly, nothing can be simpler than to nationalize the units of the Seventh Army stationed in Armenia, but this is not a way out of the situation, Simonyan observed. It is high time to learn to solve problems in a civilized way. He said the Armenian delegation has exactly this sentiment when it sits down at the negotiating table.

Representatives of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan were the first to support Russia's course of creating the uniform armed forces. For instance, Lieutenant-General Sagadat Nurmagambetov, chairman of Kazakhstan's State Committee for Defense, noted: Kazakhstan stands for the single Armed forces, for their single supply and the single personnel training. It wants the Army to be staffed under both territorial and exterritorial principles, specifically the strategic forces. Colonel-General Petr Chaus, acting defense minister of the Republic of Belarus, expressed the supposition that this meeting would fail to reach an agreement on the integral Armed Forces. He believes some military union is possible but it is already obvious that Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova will pursue an independent path. Already today they have de facto their army as, for example, Ukraine. Others envisage a transition period of two to three years for this purpose as, say, Belarus. These are the points on which agreement should be reached, Chaus thinks.

Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth's Armed Forces, asked if there is any hope for an accord about the single Armed Forces, answered: Yes, and there is a basis for this accord. The Commonwealth defense ministers have already reached some agreement in previous days. At least, we have reached mutual understanding on 13 documents. This is the foundation on which my hope rests.

Morozov Qualifies Su-24 Defections

OW1402182392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov has qualified the act of the crews of the six Su-24 bomber aircraft which yesterday flew from Western Ukraine to the Smolensk area in Russia as a "crime against the service and a failure to carry out orders." In an exclusive interview he gave our correspondents in Minsk he said that by "failing to carry out the task they had been given, they put not only their own but others' lives in danger, because they might have caused an aircrash."

Konstantin Morozov said no discrimination had ever been practiced against any members of the six crews, that they had never been barred from doing any routine flights and had enjoyed the same rights as any other pilots who had taken the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine.

Morozov on Single Command

LD1402171292 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA correspondent for TASS]

[Text] Minsk February 14 TASS—"The question of the single command of the Armed Forces has never been raised, to my mind," Ukrainian Defence Minister Colonel-General Konstantin Morozov told BELTA-TASS.

In his opinion, "there are no Commonwealth Armed Forces. One can speak only of armed forces of independent states."

Touching on the financing problems, the minister noted the Commonwealth strategic forces will be financed on the basis of share participation. None but the sovereign states themselves is able to maintain national armed forces, he said.

Asked whether or not it means the common defence structures of the Commonwealth will include only the strategic forces, General Morozov said "I would not say that. There are states that have different point of view. Let them create allied armed forces of the Commonwealth."

Kravchuk: 'No Obstacles'

LD1502121192 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 0900 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Report from Minsk by Mayak special correspondent Vera Shulkunova and station correspondent Petr Makritskiy on 14 February meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States' leaders in Minsk, including recorded portion containing answers by Ukraine President Kravchuk to questions from Shelkunova at news conference following Minsk meeting on 14 February; from the "New Wave" program]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] While we were getting you acquainted with the news I have been told that communications with Minsk have been restored. Our colleague, Mayak special correspondent Vera Shelkunova, has prepared a report especially for "New Wave." Are you on the line? Do you hear us?

[Shelkunova] Yes, I, together with Petr Makritskiy, am ready give you the details of yesterday's meeting.

[Announcer] Good day also to our correspondent in Minsk, Petr Makritskiy, who is also on the line. It is a pleasure to hear from you. We are ready to listen to you. Please, go ahead.

[Makritskiy] [passage omitted: Makritskiy says the main results of the meeting are known. Line then goes dead for 10 minutes; contact resumed; Makritskiy then says that there were fears the meeting would be a failure but in the evening everyone sighed with relief after the news conference; Shushkevich said the results were above his expectations; Korotchen and Kravchuk also expressed satisfaction; correspondent notes that they do not have the documents so far but says that Shaposhnikov becomes commander in chief]

[Makritskiy] But we were not only interested in defense matters at the news conference. Vera Shelkunova put forward her questions.

[Shelkunova] Could you please explain what specific principles on interrelations, within the framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], are laid down in the relevant declaration?

[Kravchuk] We have adopted the following principles: The states will adhere to the agreements and implement the documents which are being adopted by the CIS. The states will respect the interests of each other and will, within the framework of the laws, ensure that interethnic and other contradictions are not stirred up. The states have also decided to create the mechanisms which will ensure liability for violating the adopted principles and agreements and everything connected with this.

[Shelkunova] It is known that entire enterprises are idle in Belarus, Russia, and possibly in Ukraine. The workers are being sent away on compulsory holidays since the traditional economic links have been broken off. Can it be assumed that after the adoption here in Minsk of the relevant economic agreements, these compulsory holidays will be called off?

[Kravchuk] I think that the document which we have adopted today must give all these questions.... [changes thought] All these questions have been brought out into the open. There are no obstacles now, none. I would like to repeat that if obstacles did exist before they do not exist now. Now all depends on how they will be implemented, not only at presidential level but also at oblast, enterprise, and rayon level. If the people.... [changes thought] It must be understood that a critical hour has come about and that we must stop the tug-of-war. We must carry out what is necessary today for the people. If this is understood by everyone then, yes, the document will work. [passage omitted: Shelkunova notes that Kravchuk behaved as a person who is in charge of things, was optimistic, and repeatedly showed interest in the affairs of the CIS]

[Shelkunova] Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk proposed to host the next meeting of the heads of states and governments of the CIS in Kiev on 20 March. [passage omitted]

News Conference Held

LD1502160792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1300 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent M. Vasilyeva on 14 February news conference in Minsk following meeting of Commonwealth leaders, including recorded answers at news conference by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk; Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet; and Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan to correspondents' questions; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Now here is the excerpt we promised earlier from the Minsk news conference on the results of the meeting of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] leaders:

[Vasilyeva] The news conference was opened by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, who chaired the Minsk meeting of Commonwealth heads of states.

[Kravchuk] During the course of quite an intensive and frank exchange of opinions, 20 documents were agreed upon and signed. I would like to say that we have never before managed to sign as many documents as we did this time. As chairman at this meeting, I would like to note especially the concern shown by the participants to find the most optimal solutions to the most urgent problems. One can include among these questions the future of individual types of armed forces, mainly the strategic forces; ensuring social and other provisions for servicemen and members of their families; providing the armed forces with weapons, equipment, and material resources.

Naturally, at the conference of the heads of states and that of the heads of governments, considerable attention was paid to economic cooperation and seeking effective mechanisms for regulating it. I can say without exaggeration that previously we have not managed to pass the sort of documents on economic questions that were adopted and signed today. In particular, a common approach was found to the question of how to resolve economic questions. All obstacles have been removed for concluding contracts. The sides undertook to ensure the fulfillment of interstate agreements on supplies of products. What is most important, measures were also determined for restoring economic links between enterprises.

Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov was appointed commander in chief of the Strategic Armed Forces and the General Purpose Forces. At the next meeting in Kiev, he will put forward candidates for the posts of commander of the strategic armed forces, commander of general purpose forces, and chief of the general staff.

[Unidentified correspondent] What is the specific nature of the position of the Belarus' delegation on the matter of the united armed forces?

[Shushkevich] The positions of Ukraine, Moldova, Azerbaijan, and Belarus are to a large extent similar. Belarus cannot create a united armed forces since according to our constitutional law and the declaration of state sovereignty, we are striving to become non-nuclear and neutral. Therefore, we regard the currently existing united forces as an intermediate stage, as a transitional process from the old state to the new one. Therefore, we now regard the matter of the armed forces of the Republic of Belarus being under united command also as a temporary transitional process since we, out of considerations of neutrality, are unable to enter any military alliances.

We are in favor of united strategic forces and today we made it clear that we consider... [changes thought] We are striving to resolve the question of not being participants in these united strategic forces—that is, the nuclear forces; let us say that this transitional process should last two years. Today we outlined this timescale.

Now, concerning the genuine results: What is important here is not all the things that we adopted today—and we adopted 20 documents—but we outlined in concept the plan to adopt a whole range of documents in Kiev on 20 March, and I hope that they will produce even better results. We are learning how to do this work.

[Ter-Petrosyan] I, too, was not optimistic, but today I have the impression and perhaps even the conviction that the CIS is slowly and with difficulty picking up speed.

Shushkevich on Summit Results

LD1502171392 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Minsk February 15 (TASS)—Belarus has not signed the Agreement on General-Purpose Troops, because the head of the parliament was fulfilling the parliamentary resolution "on the transition of the republic to the status of a neutral state and the creation of a nuclear-free zone," chairman of the Belarussian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich said at a news conference today, which dealt with the results of the Friday [14 February] summit of the Commonwealth. "We are starting this process today, and we shall gradually depart from participation in general-purpose troops," he stressed.

Speaking about the mechanism of making the reached agreements effective, he pointed out that the essence of the mechanism would consist in the following: CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member-states will adopt corresponding laws, presidential decrees and government resolutions, which will put on a legal basis the agreements reached by the member states. Their fulfilment will be monitored by signatures to the agreements.

In the opinion of Shushkevich, they will "manage to preserve the ruble zone."

He confirmed that a meeting between the Russian and Ukrainian presidents had taken place after the end of the meeting and that he had been a witness to it. According to Shushkevich, "the meeting was held in a splendid atmosphere." "Within two days a bilateral economic agreement will be signed by Russia and Ukraine," Shushkevich said.

Members Issue Statement

LD1502082892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0732 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Statement by the Heads of State of the Commonwealth of Independent States"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The heads of state of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], who met in Minsk on 14 February, consider it expedient to state the following:

Taking account of the anxiety of international public opinion at the development of the situation in some countries of the CIS, we confirm absolutely our unswerving commitment to the provisions enshrined in the relevant documents adopted by the CIS heads of state in Minsk on 8 December 1991, Alma-Ata on 21 December 1991, and Moscow on 16 January 1992, stating that the CIS member states will not permit the use of force or the threat to use force in their relations and that all possible disputes arising between them will be settled exclusively by peaceful means, through negotiations;

The distribution of the movable and immovable property, weapons, equipment, and material and technical resources of the former USSR shall be conducted only with the consent of the states in which they are located. We agree that a relevant convention shall be elaborated and adopted in the immediate future.

The statement is signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

Accords, Decisions of Minsk Talks Reported

Cooperation Declaration

LD1502074892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0704 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] [no dateline as received]

Declaration on the Observation of the Principles of Cooperation Within the Framework of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]

The state participants in the Commonwealth, filled with resolution to rule out the nonobservation of the obligations taken upon themselves in accordance with the agreement on the creation of the CIS and other Commonwealth documents; recognizing their responsibility in not permitting the kindling of confrontation and contradiction between peoples and states; striving to help strengthen the atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust; and confirming their adherence to the generally recognized principles and norms of international law; solemnly pledge to ensure:

1. The strict fulfillment of international obligations taken upon themselves within the framework of the Commonwealth.
2. Noninterference in each other's affairs.
3. Respect for the territorial integrity and inviolability of state borders.
4. Rigorous observation of international standards in the sphere of human rights and basic freedoms, including the rights of national minorities.
5. Objective and balanced media coverage of sociopolitical life in the Commonwealth states, as well as the impermissibility of information that may entail interethnic discord.
6. Halting the activities of political parties and groups preaching the ideas of fascism, racism, intolerance, and discord in interethnic relations.
7. The heads of the Commonwealth member states undertake to work out a mechanism of liability for infringement on the principles indicated, to promote the implementation of the clauses of the present declaration through appropriate state structures, and also to study questions connected with the status of television's First Program.

Done in Minsk, on 14 February 1992, in one original copy in the Russian language. The original copy is preserved in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy of it to the states that signed the present declaration.

The declaration has been signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Strategic Forces' Status Agreed

LD1502091892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0828 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Agreement Among the Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the Status of the Strategic Forces"—TASS headline]

[Text] The Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan, and Ukraine, hereinafter referred to as the "Commonwealth member states," guided by the agreement on the strategic forces among the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States,

taking into account the role of the Commonwealth's strategic forces in ensuring the security of the Commonwealth member states,
confirming their commitment to the principles and norms of international law,
have agreed on the following:

Article One

For the purposes of the present agreement, the following terms mean:

1. "Strategic Forces"—military formations and installations which are under united command, the list of which is determined by each state in agreement with the Command of the strategic forces and is confirmed by the Council of Heads of State.
2. "Military Formations and Installations"—military units, establishments, military training establishments, enterprises, organizations, military representations, air bases, test sites, command points, and other installations of the strategic forces.
3. "Host State"—a state which is a member of the Commonwealth on whose territory strategic forces are deployed.
4. Place of Deployment (Basing)— the territory allocated for use by the strategic forces.
5. Immovable Property of the Strategic Forces—the military settlements, airfields, naval bases, ports, access rail tracks, structures at combat positions, training areas, firing ranges, fixed site command and control facilities, communications equipment, residential buildings, and other structures in use by the strategic forces and guaranteeing their ability to function, which are located on the areas of land granted to them for temporary use.

6. Movable Property of the Strategic Forces—all forms of weaponry, ammunition, and military equipment, including the necessary means of transport and other material and technical resources in use by the strategic forces.
7. Persons Belonging to the Strategic Forces—servicemen and civilians performing service or working in formations of the strategic forces.
8. Members of the Families of Persons Belonging to the Strategic Forces—spouses, children and other dependent relatives.

Article Two

General Provisions

1. Any state which is a member of the Commonwealth may be a party to the present agreement regardless of whether military formations and installations of the strategic forces are deployed on its territory.

2. The purpose of the strategic forces is to ensure the security of all states which are party to the agreement and they are maintained at the expense of fixed payments from these states. (The property of the strategic forces is the joint property of all the states which are party to the agreement - Armenia dissenting.)
3. Each of the Commonwealth member states gives its consent to the permanent or temporary deployment and functioning of military formations and installations of the strategic forces in their places of deployment (basing), in which they were deployed and were functioning at the moment of the signing of the present agreement. Alterations to the places of deployment are implemented by agreement between the parties to the present agreement.
4. The deployment of military units and facilities of the strategic forces on the territory of a Commonwealth member state in no way affects the sovereignty of that state. The strategic forces do not interfere in the internal affairs of the host state.
Military units and facilities of the strategic forces on the territory of a Commonwealth member state and persons belonging to them are obliged to respect and observe the laws of that state.
5. The Commonwealth member states do not commit actions obstructing the strategic forces in the fulfillment of their functions, unless they contradict the legislation of a sovereign state.

Article 3

Acquisition of Manpower by the Strategic Forces

The strategic forces acquire their manpower on the basis of the principles defined in a separate agreement.

Article 4

Command of Strategic Forces

1. The strategic forces function as an independent strategic grouping.

2. Command of the Commonwealth strategic forces is exercised by the commander of strategic forces, subordinated to the Council of Heads of State and the commander in chief of the joint armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States.
3. The Strategic Forces Command
- draws up plans for the combat application of the groupings, formations, and units of strategic forces;
- organizes combat duty (operational service) [boyevoye dezhurstvo (boyevaya sluzhba]), plans and carries out operational and combat training, and carries out other measures to maintain the strategic forces in the requisite state of combat readiness;
- exercises direct operational control of groupings, formations, and units of strategic forces; organizes and carries out measures to maintain the safety of nuclear weapons in areas where they are based and on transit routes and the safety of the civilian population and measures to protect the environment;
- carries out the functions prescribed to it in the general system of measures to prevent unauthorized actions involving nuclear weapons;

- places orders with scientific and industrial organizations of the member states of the Commonwealth on a contractual basis for the development and supply to the strategic forces of armaments and combat hardware in line with approved armaments programs, and finances the works that are carried out within the limits of the budget allocations earmarked for these purposes;
- and carries out measures to observe international treaties on nuclear weapons and other forms of weapons of mass destruction.
4. A decision on the need to use nuclear weapons is taken under the procedure laid down in Article 4 of the Agreement on Strategic Forces between the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States of 30 December 1991.

Article Five

Legal Position of Persons Who Are Members of the Strategic Forces and the Members of Their Families

The legal position of persons who are members of the strategic forces and the members of their families is regulated by the agreement between the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States on Social and Legal Guarantees for servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and members of their families.

Article Six

Relations between the Strategic Forces and the State Bodies, Enterprises and Organizations of the Commonwealth Member States

1. Military command bodies of the Commonwealth's strategic forces carry out their activity in cooperation with the state bodies, enterprises, and organizations of the Commonwealth member states.

2. The Commonwealth's strategic forces conclude contracts with enterprises and organizations of the Commonwealth member states to carry out work to create, modernize, and destroy weapons and military equipment and work on other matters of providing back-up for the activity of the strategic forces. The Commonwealth member states assist in concluding such contracts.
3. Movements by units of the strategic forces, exercises, maneuvers, and other activities organized for the operational and combat training of the strategic forces outside the confines of their places of permanent deployment (basing) are conducted in accordance with plans agreed with the body authorized by the government of the Commonwealth member state on whose territory it is intended to conduct those activities, or with the consent in each case of that government or of the body authorized by it.
The Commonwealth member states grant the military units and facilities of the strategic forces the necessary transportation facilities and land, air, and sea space for their movement, in accordance with the above plans.
4. The construction of new roads, bridges, buildings, and permanent radio and radio-electronic structures with defined frequencies and capacity in the places of deployment of the strategic forces and the construction of other immovable facilities of the strategic forces is carried out with the consent of the responsible bodies of the Commonwealth member state on whose territory it is proposed to construct the new facilities.
5. When areas of land in use by the strategic forces are left, they revert to the host state. The subject of immovable facilities built there with the funds of the strategic forces is settled in accordance with the legislation of the host state or with a relevant agreement.

Article Seven

Financing the Strategic Forces and Providing Them With Material and Technical Back-Up

1. The Commonwealth member states participate proportionately in financing the strategic forces and in fulfilling international obligations to reduce and destroy them. The volumes of expenditures on the above aims and the financing procedure are determined by a separate agreement.
2. The procedure for providing material and technical back-up for the strategic forces and payments in the currency of the host state is determined by the Council of Heads of Government of the members of the Commonwealth.

Article Eight

Property of the Strategic Forces

1. The host states reserve to the strategic forces the immovable property which they had at the time of signing the present agreement; they provide them with electricity, communal, and other services. The procedure and conditions under which the strategic forces use the areas of land allocated to them and also for providing the strategic forces with all types of services are determined in accordance with the legislation of the host state.
2. The movable property of the strategic forces is at their disposal and for their use. The procedure for dealing with it is determined by the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth.
The Commonwealth member states undertake not to hinder the transfer of movable property of the strategic forces outside the state by agreement with the host party.
3. The road transportation vehicles of the military formations of the strategic forces have registration numbers and distinguishing signs. Unified registration numbers and signs are established by the Main Command of the Commonwealth's unified armed forces.

Article Nine

Matters of Jurisdiction

In cases of crimes and misdemeanors committed by persons belonging to the strategic forces or by members of their families, the legislation in force on the territory of the Commonwealth member state where the crimes or misdemeanors were committed shall apply.

Article Ten

Procedure for Withdrawal From the Agreement

In exercise of its sovereignty, each member state of the Commonwealth has the right to withdraw from this agreement. A member state of the Commonwealth which intends to withdraw from the agreement informs the depositary state and all other member states in writing of its decision to act in this way. Such notification is to be given at least one year before the proposed withdrawal from the agreement.

Article Eleven

Coming Into Force of the Agreement

1. The present agreement is subject to ratification by each member state of the Commonwealth in accordance with its constitutional procedures. The instruments of ratification are handed over for safekeeping to the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which by this agreement is appointed as the depositary.
2. The present agreement comes into force 10 days after the instruments of ratification have been handed over for safekeeping by all member states of the Commonwealth.
3. The depositary immediately informs all member states of the Commonwealth:

A) of the handing over for safekeeping of each instrument of ratification;
B) of the coming into force of the present agreement;
C) of any notification of the member states of the Commonwealth to withdraw from the present agreement in accordance with Article Ten, and of the date of their withdrawal;
D) of any matter requiring the provisions of the present agreement to be revised or defined more precisely.

The agreement comes into force from the moment that it is signed.

Completed in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original is kept in the archive of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the states which have signed this agreement.

The agreement was signed by representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

The Azerbaijan representative added the footnote: "On condition that the strategic units located only on the territory of Azerbaijan are financed, and that those units are withdrawn by the end of 1994."

The representative of Armenia added the note: "With a dissenting opinion."

The Kazakhstan representative noted that "an agreement on the test sites will be concluded with the Republic of Kazakhstan."

The Kyrgyzstan representative specified: "Inclusion of Article Two, Point 2."

The Ukraine representative made the annotation: "With the exception of Article Two, point 2, and Article Ten (for Ukraine, in accordance with the Minsk agreement, the term for withdrawal is the end of 1994)."

General Purpose Forces Agreement

LD1802132392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1206 GMT 18 Feb 92

["Agreement Between the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and the Republic of Uzbekistan on General Purpose Forces for the Transition Period"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The states participating in the present agreement, henceforth referred to as the "participant states," proceeding from the need for a mutually acceptable and organized settlement of matters in the area of directing the general purpose forces,

bearing in mind the role of general purpose forces in ensuring the security of the participant states,
guided by the Agreement of the Council of Heads of Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States on Armed Forces and Border Troops of 30 December 1991,
have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The participant states shall form joint general purpose forces.

The term "general purpose forces" means: groupings, formations, units, institutions, military training establishments, other military formations, and military facilities which do not form part of the strategic forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, as well as the armed forces of the paricipant states themselves, operationally subordinated, with their consent, to the commander in chief of the joint Armed Forces.

The list of military formations subject to inclusion in the general purpose forces and their deployment is determined by separate protocols for each participant state.

Article 2

The directing of the Commonwealth participant states' own armed forces is carried out by the ministries of defense (defense committees) of those states.

Article 3

The status of the general purpose forces is determined by a separate agreement between the participant states taking into account their national legislation.

Article 4

The material, technical, and financial backing for the general purpose forces is regulated by separate agreements.

Article 5

Each participant state has the right to withdraw from the present agreement, having given the other participant states at least six months notification of this.

Article 6

The agreement comes into effect when it is signed, and for the Republic of Belarus from the moment it is ratified by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus.

Concluded in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original is kept at the archives of the government of the Republic of Belarus which will send the states which have signed the present agreement a certified copy.

The document has been signed by representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

The president of Armenia made the following note: To add to Article One, after the word "protocols" the following: "and is approved by the Council of Heads of State."

Shaposhnikov Commander in Chief

LD1502103892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0952 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Decision of Commonwealth of Independent States Council of Heads of State on Appointment of Commander in Chief of Joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] For the purposes of ensuring the command of the joint armed forces of the Commonwealth, the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States have decided to appoint Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov as commander in chief of the joint Armed Forces of the Commonwealth.

This decision was drawn up in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original is to be held in the archives of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send certified copies to the states that signed this agreement.

The agreement was signed by the representatves of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Russia, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Protocol on Military Issues

LD1502120792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0954 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Protocol of Meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States Heads of State on the Preparation of a Block of Agreements on Military Issues"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The defense ministers (chairmen of defense committees) of the Commonwealth member states are instructed to prepare, with the participation of Marshal Ye.I. Shaposhnikov, a block of agreements on military issues, with the intention of considering them on 20 March .

Done in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is deposited for safekeeping with the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy to the states that signed the present protocol.

The protocol has been signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Agreement on Supplying Armed Forces

LD1502164292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1035 GMT 15 Feb 92

["An agreement on the principles for supplying the Armed Forces of the CIS states"—TASS headline]

[Text] **Agreement:**

On the Principles for Supplying the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth Member States with Weapons, Hardware, and Material Resources, and for Organizing the Production Activity of Repair Enterprises, Scientific Research, Design, and Experimental Work.

The member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States (subsequently called "the Commonwealth"), guided by the desire to maintain the combat readiness of the Commonwealth's strategic forces and of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth states at the requisite level, to improve the provision of troops with the necessary material resources, to create conditions for the work of the existing production capacity, and to maintain the scientific potential, have agreed upon the following:

Article 1

To assist each other in tackling the problems of material-technical and logistic support for the troops of the Commonwealth member states, supplies of weapons, hardware, and material resources, collaborative links in producing output for military purposes, and the unconditional maintenance of long-term industrial and economic links and direct contracts.

Article 2

To perform state regulation of deliveries and designs of highly important types of military production at the level of the governments of the Commonwealth states. To carry out supervision of the conclusion and implementation of contracts for mutual deliveries through the relevant administrative bodies of the Commonwealth states.

Article 3

To carry out the repair and manufacture of weapons, hardware, and military technical equipment at enterprises of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth states in common interests, according to coordinated plans and prices, and on the principles of reciprocal settlement of accounts and the preservation of the production links which have been built up.

Article 4

To carry out the provision of weapons and hardware, as well as the supply of military technical equipment, output of an industrial and technical designation, and other material resources, on the basis of coordinated orders submitted to the appropriate administrative bodies of the Commonwealth states, and on the principles of reciprocal payments according to agreed prices.

Article 5

Weapons and hardware belonging to the Commonwealth Strategic Forces and Commonwealth States' Armed Forces cannot unilaterally be reassigned [perepodchinyatsya], reappointed, or privatized while in repair enterprises beyond the borders of the state. Documents adopted unilaterally on this matter are annulled.

Article 6

To ensure the continuation of scientific research and experimental design work initiated earlier on the basis of proportionate participation and the interest of the parties.

Article 7

A constant mutual exchange of technical information about the models of armament and materiel in service is to be implemented.

Article 8

Military missions at industrial enterprises located on the territory of the Commonwealth and carrying out the development, manufacture, assembly, and delivery of armaments, military material, and equipment, are part of the armed forces of the state on whose territory these enterprises and organizations are situated.

Article 9

Interstate transportation of troops and military cargoes is to be carried out under special agreements between the transport agencies of the states of the Commonwealth. The planning of and the procedure for ensuring military traffic and its handling are agreed between the military transport agencies of the armed forces of the Commonwealth states.

Article 10

Where indicated, the servicemen of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth states are sent for free examination and treatment to medical service establishments of the Commonwealth states.

Treatment at sanatoria and health resorts, and holidays for servicemen of the Commonwealth states, members of their families, and of blue-collar and white-collar workers are provided on the basis of contract terms.

Article 11

The specific procedure for fulfilling the terms of the present agreement with regard to the kinds of provision is to be laid down in individual agreements between the heads of government or the authorized government agencies of the Commonwealth states.

Article 12

The agreement comes into force from the moment it has been signed.

Enacted in the city of Minsk on 14 February 1991 in one original copy in Russian. The original is kept in the archive of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will forward a certified copy to the states which have signed the present agreement.

The agreement was signed by representatives of Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Safeguards for Servicemen Agreed

LD1502183492 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1030 GMT 15 Feb 92

["CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Agreement on Social and Legal Safeguards for Servicemen"—TASS headline]

[Text] **AGREEMENT**

Between the Member Countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States on Social and Legal Safeguards for Military Servicemen, Persons Discharged From Military Service, and Members of their Families

The Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan and Ukraine, hereinafter referred to as "the members of the Commonwealth"—proceeding from the need for coordinated measures to provide social and legal safeguards for military servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and members of their families, mindful of the right of military servicemen to be posted to serve or to be discharged into the reserve (retire) from one Commonwealth state to another, with the aim of creating for military servicemen proper living standards and conditions of service, and also a legal foundation for implementation of these measures hereby agree upon the following:

ARTICLE 1

Military servicemen, persons discharged from military service and resident on the territory of the members of the Commonwealth, and also members of their families shall retain the level of rights and concessions previously established by the laws and other enforceable enactments of the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Unilateral limitations of the said rights and concessions of military servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and members of their families shall be prohibited. The members of the Commonwealth shall be entitled to take measures to strengthen the social safeguards of military servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and members of their families.

ARTICLE 2

The members of the Commonwealth shall by legislation establish and ensure the fullest political, socioeconomic, and personal rights and freedoms of military servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and members of their families in accordance with the norms of international law and the provisions of this agreement, including the following rights: to retain citizenship of the Commonwealth member state held by them prior to conscription to (commencement of) military service; to exercise ownership of assets belonging to them, and to dispose of such assets at their discretion; to reside in the living quarters occupied by them; to receive a pension

stipulated by legislation. The procedure for safeguarding military servicemen's pensions shall be established by intergovernmental agreements; when crossing the state border of a member of the Commonwealth, to convey personal property with exemption from duties, taxes and fees, excepting those items prohibited from export (import) under the legislation of the appropriate state; to receive education in higher, secondary and secondary-vocational educational establishments of a Commonwealth state, and to make use of preschool facilities for children; to enjoy medical and other forms of social provision; to gain employment in state bodies, enterprises, institutions and organisations subsequent to discharge from military service. In addition, military servicemen subsequent to discharge, and also members of their families, shall be entitled to receive the citizenship of the state of their location, to remain in permanent residence on such state's territory, or to select another place of residence.

ARTICLE 3

The Commonwealth states shall provide living quarters to military servicemen and members of their families not in possession of the same or in need of improvement to their living conditions in accordance with the legislation of the state of their location.

ARTICLE 4

The members of the Commonwealth shall undertake to draw up and adopt in 1992 coordinated legislative enactments on social safeguards for military servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and members of their families.

ARTICLE 5

This Agreement shall enter into force upon being signed. Done in the city of Minsk this 14th day of February 1992 in one original in Russian. Custody of the original shall be held by the state archives of the Republic of Belarus, which shall forward certified copies to the signatory states. This Agreement is signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and the Ukraine. Upon signing, the President of Moldova noted that in Moldova, guarantees for military servicemen are defined by the legislation of the republic.

Defense Ministers Council Decision

PM1702230192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 1

["Decision of the Council of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Heads of State on a CIS Defense Ministers' Council"]

[Text] The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states, with a view to coordinating questions of military organizational development, have decided:

1. To set up a council of defense ministers from the CIS states.
2. To ratify the provision on the CIS states' Defense Ministers Council.

Done in Minsk 14 February 1992 in one original in Russian. The original will be stored in the Belarussian Government archives, which will send certified copies to the states signatory to this decision.

The decision was signed by the representatives of Armenia, Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

The Kazakh president noted "Point 2 excepted."

Trade, Economic Cooperation Accord

LD1502110692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0759 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Agreement of the Commonwealth of Independent States on the Regulation of Trade and Economic Cooperation in 1992"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received]

Agreement on the Regulation of Relations Between the States of the Commonwealth in the Sphere of Trade and Economic Cooperation in 1992

In order to create favorable conditions for the development of trade and economic cooperation between enterprises and organizations located on the territory of the Commonwealth states, the heads of state and heads of government of the Commonwealth states, hereinafter termed the "parties," have agreed on the following:

Article 1

Trade and economic relations between the states are to be carried out in the framework of the Commonwealth on the basis of mutual advantage, and actions causing economic damage to one another are to be refrained from.

Article 2

The parties use a single monetary unit (the Ruble) for reciprocal payments between economic subjects, for credit, and other financial operations within the Commonwealth.

Where individual states of the Commonwealth introduce their own national currency, the procedure for payments will be determined by separate agreements.

Payments between enterprises and organizations of the Commonwealth states are implemented at free market prices. It is possible to set a price ceiling on individual, very important types of products, mutually agreed by the sides, which are supplied within the framework of intergovernmental agreements.

The parties agree to regulate prices on the products of monopoly enterprises on the basis of a special agreement.

Article 3

The sides undertake to ensure unhindered transit across the territory of their states for goods and services being supplied to other states, and to coordinate ceilings for tariffs for the transit of goods.

Article 4

The parties undertake to adopt measures to eliminate double or multiple taxation of income from trade between enterprises of the Commonwealth states.

Article 5

The parties agree not to impose quotas, licenses, or other forms of non-tariff restrictions on supplies of output, with the exception of a list of goods according to a catalogue included in intergovernmental agreements.

Until this list is agreed, quotas and licenses shall be imposed in accordance with the procedure customary in each state.

The parties agree to notify the organizations responsible for implementing the interstate agreements of the quotas for exportation of output to states of the Community, in accordance with the volumes fixed by the intergovernmental agreements. The said quotas are the basis for issuing licenses for exportation of output to the relevant states of the Commonwealth. The notifications matching buyers to suppliers and issued by the regulating bodies of the parties within the limits of the fixed quotas are considered as licenses for exportation of output from their territories.

The parties agree, until the adoption of national normative acts regulating the exportation and importation of goods, to ensure unhampered transit across their borders of goods being moved on the basis of matching warrants issued by the authorized bodies of the parties.

Article 6

The parties agree to adopt the necessary normative acts guaranteeing fulfilment of interstate agreements on deliveries of goods, including the conclusion within one month of economic contracts between the parties' enterprises for delivery of output in 1992, in implementation of the said agreements and their implementation.

The parties agree within one week to adopt the necessary normative acts, ensuring in February of the current year the conclusion by the enterprises, associations, and organizations located on the states' territories, of economic contracts for delivery in the year 1992 and their implementation, according to the volumes of deliveries notified by the government bodies in keeping with the intergovernmental agreements. The parties will ensure the acceptance of orders for supply of output by all enterprises, associations, and organizations as per the intergovernmental agreements within the limits of the fixed quotas, and also responsibility for nonconclusion of contracts for the supply of output, in accordance with the volumes indicated, in the form of a fine and forfeits for the nonfulfilment of delivery commitments. The scale of the fine and forfeit is to be agreed within one week.

The parties agree to instruct the enterprises, associations, and organizations located on the parties' territories, when concluding contracts for delivery of ouput under intergovernmental agreements, not to unilaterally set consumers' additional requirements for reciprocal deliveries of output. By consent of the parties, direct contracts may be permitted with individual regions of the parties as part of agreed volumes of delivery for the year 1992.

Article 7

The parties pledge to take measures in order to maintain and develop coproduction links within and between industries for deliveries of raw and other materials, semi-finished goods, and component items, used in technological conversions, and other output not envisaged by intergovernmental agreements, as a rule at a level of not less than 70 percent of the volume of deliveries in the year 1991.

Article 8

The parties consider it impermissible for enterprises located on the parties' territories to unilaterally make additional demands for reciprocal deliveries of output when concluding contracts for delivery of outut in implementation of intergovernmental agreements.

For monitoring the implementation of intergovernmental agreements, for agreeing times of bilateral deliveries, and for examining disputed issues regarding their implementation, the parties are setting up bilateral commissions made up of representatives of the state departments concerned.

Article 9

The parties are organizing records of reciprocal payments and accounts regarding commercial and noncommercial operations on the basis of payment balances, and are endeavoring to make them balance. The parties recognize the right of each of the parties, for purposes of ensuring payments balance, to introduce restrictions with regard to payments and accounts with other parties, and to demand the undertaking of state commitments for clearing the balance of payments.

Article 10

The parties agree not to permit the reexport of goods subject to quotas and licenses without the consent of the authorized body of the state on whose territory the particular goods were produced. In the event of the reexport of such goods, the state on whose territory they

were produced is entitled to introduce measures additional to those in intergovernmental agreements to restrict the export of goods to the territory of the state which permitted the reexport, and to demand the full hard currency earnings from the reexport as compensation for the loss.

Article 11

The parties agree that in order to establish a common legal base regulating relations between economic subjects in the various Commonwealth states, to adopt within one month an agreement on common conditions for deliveries of goods between organizations in the Commonwealth states.

Article 12

The parties are to form a Consultative Customs Council, comprising representatives of the parties, to elaborate and implement a joint customs policy, to coordinate cooperation among the customs services, and to record customs statistics, and they instruct the relevant bodies to draw up within one month a statute governing this Council and its membership.

Article 13

The parties agree to conclude agreements within one month on the procedure for settling disputes that arise between enterprises and organizations in the Commonwealth states as they engage in trade and economic cooperation, and to establish within the same period the bodies necessary to consider them.

Article 14

The agreement comes into force from the moment it is signed.

Done in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in the Russian language. The original copy is preserved in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy of the agreement to the signatory states.

The agreement has been signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

The representatives of Azerbaijan added the footnote: "From this year, taking account of the world proportions of prices".

The representatives of Turkmenistan added the footnote: "Taking account of the gradual transition over two years to world prices in mutual payments for raw materials and output".

Economic Reform Statement

PM1702231192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 1

["Statement by Heads of State on Coordinating Actions in Implementation of Economic Reform"]

[Text] The progress of reform in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states has shown that, despite all the different conditions in each country, it is important for all of them to ensure the adoption of the following coordinated measures:

to increase the effectiveness of decisionmaking in preventing the breakdown of economic ties and in concluding contracts between producers in different CIS countries;
to ensure that economic administrative organs react quickly and flexibly to the changing conditions, including making the necessary amendments to the normative base of reform;
to strengthen the comprehensive cooperation between organs of executive power;
to grant the Commonwealth heads of state to this end the ability during the present, highly crucial period to swiftly pass normative acts bearing directly on the entire range of issues connected with the implementation of radical economic reform, including issues coordinated among them;
to strictly ensure observance of the agreements between CIS states on economic issues and to ensure the effectiveness of the economic mechanisms for preventing the nonfulfillment of such agreements;
to adopt measures which will have an economic impact on parties which systematically fail to carry out intergovernmental agreements on shipments of output.

The statement was signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Document on Treaties With U.S.

LD1502105692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Protocal of Conference of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Heads of State on Ratification of Treaties With United States"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received] The Commonwealth heads of state have agreed as follows:

In order to ensure the speediest ratification and implementation of the treaty between the USSR and United States on the reduction and limitation of strategic offensive weapons and the treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe, experts of the participant states of the Commonwealth are to be instructed to accelerate the preparation of agreements on the procedure for their ratification, endorsement, and implementation by the relevant participant states.

Drawn up in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one Russian original. The original is being lodged for safekeeping with the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which is to send certified copies of it to the signatory states.

The protocol was signed by representatves of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Protocol on Continuity of Treaties

LD1502121692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0924 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Protocol of Meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States Heads of State on the Legal Continuity of Treaties"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The foreign ministers of the Commonwealth member states are instructed to prepare a document on the legal continuity of treaties, all property, state archives, debts and assets of the former USSR for consideration by the heads of the Commonwealth member states on 20 March 1992 in Kiev.

Done in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original copy is deposited for safekeeping with the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy of it to the states that signed the present protocol.

The protocol has been signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

Protocol on USSR State Bank

LD1502083792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0740 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Protocol of the Meeting of the Heads of State and Heads of Government of the Commonwealth Member States"]

[Text] [no dateline as received] The heads of government and the national (central) banks of the Commonwealth member states are instructed to prepare, within a period of two weeks, an interstate agreement on the division of the assets and liabilities of the former USSR State Bank.

Done in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in the Russian language. The original copy is preserved in the archives of the government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send a certified copy of it to the states that signed the present protocol.

The protocol has been signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

Return of Items of Value Agreed

LD1502191392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0804 GMT 15 Feb 92

["CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Agreement on the Return of Items of Cultural Value"—TASS headline]

[Text] **AGREEMENT**

On the Return of Items of Cultural and Historical Value to Their States of Origin.

Commonwealth member states, being aware of the significance that the countries of origin attach to the return of items of cultural value which represent an integral part of their spiritual, cultural and historical legacy; taking into account the clauses in the resolutions of the UN General Assembly on the return or restitution of items of cultural value to their countries of origin as well as the conventions on measures on the banning and prevention of the import, export and transfer of rights of ownership on items of cultural value from 14 November 1970; confirming that the return to the peoples of their works of art, monuments, museum exhibits, archives, manuscripts, documents and other rare cultural and historical items will serve the noble task of reviving national cultures, preserving, and further developing articles of universal cultural value and facilitate the strengthening of cooperation between the independent states, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

The member states will assist the return of items of cultural and historical value to their countries of origin.

Article 2

The member states will found, on an equal footing, an intergovernmental commission for the creation of a mechanism and for practical work on the return of items of cultural and historic value to commonwealth member states and to determine the categories of items of cultural and historical value which are to be subject to return.

Article 3

The member states will found national commissions to draw up systematic inventories of the items of cultural and historical value present on the territory of the state in question as well as in other Commonwealth member states.

Article 4

The member states will grant experts from the national commissions the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the stocks of the state museums, libraries, and archives of one another.

Article 5

The member states will guarantee appropriate preservation of the cultural heritage to be found on their territory, of the national minorities and peoples of other Commonwealth member states including historic, religious, and cultural monuments in the form in which they exist at the present time.

Article 6

The member states will assist the expansion of mutual knowledge about their respective cultures. They will also encourage cooperation and exchanges in all spheres of culture and creative activity.

Article 7

The agreement comes into force from the moment of signing. The original copy of the agreement is submitted for safekeeping to the government of Belarus, which will be its depository. Completed in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one copy in the state languages of the member states; moreover all of the copies have equal force.

The declaration has been signed by the representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Ukraine.

Railway Coordination Agreed

LD1502184792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0800 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Agreement on Coordinating Bodies for Railway Transport in the Commonwealth of Independent States"]

[Text] [No dateline as received] The heads of government of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] member states have studied proposals put forward by the heads of railway transport administrations and management bodies in the CIS. They wish to ensure stable economic ties between the CIS member states and to strengthen them within the framework of a single economic space. Guided by Article 7 of the agreement setting up the CIS and mindful of the experience that has been gained in forming and running a single railway network, they have agreed on the following:

1. A Council for Railway Transport is to be established. It will consist of the heads of CIS railway transport administrations and management bodies. Its task will be to coordinate the operations of railway transport at an interstate level and to draw up agreed principles for its activities.

2. The Council for Railway Transport is to be given the following instructions:
2.1. In conjunction with the Transport Coordination Council, it is to draw up a statute for the Council for Railway Transport and present it for endorsement within a month.

2.2. The Council for Railway Transport is to form an executive committee to coordinate railway operations and draw up enactments to regulate the organization of passenger and goods transport between the CIS states.
2.3. Within a month it is to draw up a statute for the executive committee, work out its structure, staffing, estimates of expenditure on running costs and financing arrangements, and present them for endorsement.

3. The headquarters of the council is to be established in the city of Moscow.

Enacted in Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in the Russian language. The original copy is preserved in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will forward a certified copy to the signatory states.

The agreement has been signed by the representatives of the Governments of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

'Main Significance' of Minsk Meeting Assessed

LD1502230892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 15 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The leaders of the Commonwealth countries have dispersed from Minsk. We have been given much food for thought. Twenty documents were signed. The main significance of the meeting lies not in the texts, but in the fact that despite their different interests, our leaders are demonstrating their ability to reach agreement and listen to each other. [video shows Nazarbayev and Shaposhnikov side by side at a conference table; then Kravchuk, Burbulis, and a large number of officials in military uniform]

[Begin recording] [Correspondent A. Gerasimov] In what way was this meeting different from the two previous ones? Above all, it was different because of the subject of the talks. This was the reason why the presidents were accompanied by so many military officers, of whom there were more than ever before, and why a flamboyant air display was staged in which the most up-to-date and powerful combat aircraft took part. A purely socialist technique—visual agitation—was employed to convince the participants in the conference of the need to keep a single Army. [video shows four military aircraft staging a fly-by above a snow covered air base; shots of bombs laid out beside a helicopter in static display; close-up of MiG-29 taxiing on the ground; two MiG-29s escorting a large bomber overhead]

The expensive trick did not work. Only six republics—the Central Asian republics plus Kazakhstan and Armenia—decided to gather under Russia's military wing. These alignments reflect political relations among the 11 republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States

[CIS]. The economically strong Ukraine and Belarus are inclining ever further toward full independence, rejecting all dependence, especially in military matters. Some experts believe that Moldova and Azerbaijan are getting ready to resolve their territorial problems by nationalizing the Soviet Army's material assets. [video shows conference room with Shushkevich, Yeltsin, Shakhray, and Kozyrev]

Meanwhile, assessments of the negotiations by the leaders of the two biggest states in the Commonwealth are far from pessimistic.

[Yeltsin] Each meeting somehow advances us a long way forward as states of the Commonwealth. Today's meeting moved us forward very thoroughly. [video shows brief interview with Yeltsin at conference table]

[Kravchuk] I would give it a score of slightly less than four out of five because three is too little and a full four is too much. So I would say the score lies somewhere in the region of slightly less than four. [video shows Kravchuk interviewed outside conference room, with a smiling Shaposhnikov looking on]

[Gerasimov] No doubt the heads of state understand this arithmetical assessment of the quality of relations between former brothers better than ordinary citizens, whose own lives demonstrate the weakness of the ties within the CIS. [video shows Gerasimov against background of palatial mansion and landscaped garden]

Dozens of extremely large plants already are at a standstill in Belarus owing to a lack of raw materials and components. Thousands of people have been sent on compulsory, unpaid leave. As if lobbying the leaders, some demonstrators, who timed their meeting in Minsk to coincide with the conference, demanded that the CIS leaders make sure they keep the promises being given in the numerous documents they are signing. [video shows glimpse of drab street, demonstrators with placards reading: "CIS must guarantee 70 percent of contractual deliveries;" "CIS: We want to live, not just exist;" "CIS leaders, we do not want to become unemployed;" "CIS leaders: Now that we have market prices, give us a chance to earn a market wage"]

With each new meeting there are more and more demonstrators. The president of Ukraine voiced the latest expression of hope that life will improve when he said that all barriers for the restoration of severed ties between enterprises have been removed as of yesterday. If that is so, then the meeting was worthwhile, if only for this one result. [end recording]

International Affairs

Reportage on Secretary Baker's Visit Continues

Tours Chelyabinsk-70

PM1602221992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Georgiy Shcherbina: "Baker Opens 'Closed Cities'"]

[Text] What the U.S. spy pilot Powers was not allowed to examine from the Urals skies more than three decades ago has now been quietly studied on the ground by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

The important transatlantic guest made use of this opportunity to visit closed Urals cities. Baker was first received by Snezhninsk. Although the city does not feature on any maps—since its inception it has hidden under the "pseudonym" Chelyabinsk-70—its reputation nowadays has ceased to be a secret for the world's public. It was here, at the height of the "cold war" in March 1955 that Soviet thermonuclear weapons were developed. It is here that work which cannot be publicized is still done. This work is handled by the all-Union Technical Physics Scientific Research Institute, a design bureau, and an experimental plant, where major intellectual resources are concentrated.

This scientific and production potential, which was an achievement of the collapsed USSR and its military-industrial complex, holds a colossal stockpile of unused technologies, know-how, and highly original developments.

It is another matter that, in order to implement the conversion programs, great amounts of investment—which Russia unfortunately does not have available—will be required.

There is no doubt that all these circumstances will be taken into account by both the government and the U.S. secretary of state, accompanied by his delegation, who thoroughly familiarized themselves with the All-Union Technical Physics Scientific Research Institute complex.

Meets Officials in Yekaterinburg

LD1502121392 Moscow TASS in English 1134 GMT 15 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nadexhda Potapova]

[Text] Yekaterinburg February 15 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker is having a day of rest here today. Late on Friday [14 February] night, before going to a Russian bath-house at his country residence, he had an interested and frank conversation with the administration chiefs of Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk regions.

One of the results of the meeting is that, by a decision of the sides, a U.S. consulate will open in Yekaterinburg in October this year.

The press secretary of the Sverdlovsk administration's chief said the sides had discussed matters aimed at drawing up a joint Uralic-U.S. defence-sector conversion programme. Agreement was reached on the provision of the U.S. side with a number of the two regions' economic and social programmes that could elicit the interest of foreign investors.

"We have gathered the impression that we regard similarly many aspects of the political changes in the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), of the course of Russia's reforms, and of prospects for cooperation," Chelyabinsk administration chief Vadim Soloviov told ITAR-TASS.

Before a lunch today Mr. Baker visited the fine arts museum, which boasts a masterpiece made by Uralic craftsmen at the beginning of this century—the Kasli Cast-Iron Pavilion at the site of the no longer existing house in which the family and retinue of the last Russian emperor had been shot to death without trial in July 1918.

The U.S. guest was also informed about the course of research to identify the mysterious remnants, which had been disinterred last year and which, in the opinion of some specialists, belong to the killed Romanovs.

After a lunch, Mr. Baker intends to proceed with his tour of CIS capitals.

Holds Talks With Yeltsin

LD1702160992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1445 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] U.S. Secretary of State Baker stressed at a news conference following his talks with Russian President Boris Yeltsin that his conversation with the president of Russia was very, very good. He briefed Yeltsin on his tour of the Commonwealth of Independent States. They discussed the economic reforms in Russia, and continued their discussions on disarmament which were begun recently at Camp David.

Baker announced that the United States is ready to provide much assistance to Russia in nuclear safety, especially regarding the destruction of nuclear and chemical weapons.

For his part, President Yeltsin expressed satisfaction with the talks. In his words, another step forward has been taken in the matters discussed during the meeting at Camp David less than a month ago. In particular, Yeltsin stressed that the sides have achieved progress in disarmament based on the two programs proposed recently by Russia and the United States. Certain issues in this respect have yet to be sorted out in final terms.

For example, the degree of and timeframe for the cutbacks have yet to be agreed on.

Yeltsin stated that Russia has asked the United States to allocate additional credits for the purchase of U.S. grain during the second quarter of this year. Regarding the purchases planned for the first quarter, they all should be received by 1 April.

Yeltsin also detailed his planned official visit to the United States this coming July. Finally, he said that the United States, Germany, and Russia have decided to set up in Russia an international science and technology center to train nuclear scientists and specialists from the former USSR. I have the document here in front of me, and can quote just one phrase to clarify what this is all about: The principal aim of this project and the principal aim of the center being established is to provide scientists and specialists in armaments an opportunity to redirect their talents to nonmilitary projects, in particular reduce to a minimum any incentives to participate in activities that could lead to proliferation of nuclear, biological, or chemical weapons or weapon systems [word indistinct].

That rather long phrase is a quote, but the substance of it is that Russia, Germany, and the United States will do all they can to reorientate the work of our nuclear physicists so that they are not dismissed and do not leave the CIS for other countries. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow, U.S. Secretary of State Baker will hold talks with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev. Their meeting is scheduled for tomorrow morning.

Grain Credits Discussed

LD1702162992 Moscow TASS in English 1613 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Peskov and Gennadiy Talayev]

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—During the Russo-American talks in Moscow today, steps were made "in practically all fields", according to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Speaking at a joint news conference with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker after the end of their meeting, Yeltsin stressed the importance of rapprochement between the two countries on strategic nuclear arms reduction.

Baker said the two sides had coordinated many questions in the field of nuclear security and dismantling nuclear weapons. He said the United States was ready to provide resources and technical assistance in this sphere.

Yeltsin and Baker discussed U.S. economic aid to Russia. All credits issued to buy grain are to be used up before March 1, Yeltsin said.

He appealed to the United States to allocate an additional 600 million dollars to buy grain.

Visit to U.S. Planned in Jul

LD1702181792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Correspondent Yu. Reshetnikov report; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] U.S. Secretary of State Baker was in Moscow today. On the agenda of his talks with Boris Yeltsin were two main issues: Initiatives in the disarmament field and the fate of the nuclear physicists in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. Many of them are currently losing their jobs in their homeland and are being offered profitable contracts in countries striving to create their own nuclear weapons.

[Reshetnikov] Russian President Boris Yeltsin had three hours of talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in the Kremlin today. The sides tried to bring their positions on nuclear disarmament closer together. The Russian side is insisting on a more radical reduction in nuclear weapons than is considered acceptable by the U.S. side.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] [video shows Yeltsin standing, speaking before press with Baker at his side next to another microphone] We consider that tomorrow's talks will bring these points of view closer together. We also bluntly and clearly say: Let us get closer together tomorrow, so that it then will be possible for President Bush and me to make a joint statement on the reduction and destruction of nuclear weapons. [end recording]

[Reshetnikov] Boris Yeltsin also told journalists about his intention to go to the United States in July to meet the U.S. President. The setting up of a scientific-technical center to support scientists and specialists of the former Soviet Union during the present critical period of transition to a market economy also was announced. [video shows both sides in discussion across table surrounded by pressmen; Yeltsin and Baker speaking to newsmen]

Meets Kozyrev, Arms Cuts Reviewed

LD1802114892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1107 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Igor Peskov and Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)— During the Russian-U.S. talks in Moscow prime attention was devoted to coordinating steps for implementing the accords that have been reached on cutting strategic offensive weapons. This was stated by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, speaking at a joint news conference today on completion of the two days of talks.

At the present stage the political issues concerning reductions in nuclear weapons have been resolved, Andrey Kozyrev noted, and it remains to resolve purely technical problems. Moreover, he drew attention to the fact that the figures proposed by the parties for the armaments being reduced were "very close".

This afternoon, before his departure from Moscow, a meeting is planned between James Baker and Tengiz Sigua, the provisional head of the Government of Georgia.

'Decisive Progress' Expected

LD1802134892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev took his leave of U.S. Secretary of State Baker today following the diplomatic marathon undertaken by the American around the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

[Unidentified correspondent] Andrey Kozyrev's meeting with James Baker today summed up the two days of Russian-American talks, assessed by the parties as exceptionally interesting. [video shows Kozyrev and Baker talking to journalists]

[Begin Kozyrev recording] It seems to me the main thing is that we have agreed to proceed in such a way as to avoid protracted talks lasting many years. Such protracted talks have often turned into a deferment of decisions, or even a revocation of decisions, and have only by the end of a period lasting 10 or 15 years led to agreements. We have agreed to move much more quickly, and to use our contacts, and moreover at a high level, at foreign minister level, so that the presidents may be able to reach decisive progress in this area by the summer. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The Russian minister drew attention to the closeness of the two sides' positions on quantitative parameters in cutting nuclear weapons. [video shows Baker] Having agreed with this assessment, the U.S. secretary of state noted that American-Russian relations have entered a new era, which is distinguished by a departure from confrontation toward close cooperation. Touching on President Yeltsin's decision to retarget nuclear missiles, James Baker said he supports the spirit of this step, but sees certain technical problems in its implementation. Journalists were told Russian-U.S. talks will be continued in March.

Solton Views Moscow Talks

LD1702231592 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] The American Secretary of State James Baker has arrived in Moscow for two days of talks with Russian leaders. Mr. Baker, who has already toured a number of former Soviet republics, meets President Boris Yeltsin and tomorrow will have talks with his Russian opposite number, Andrey Kozyrev. Now, what's the substance of negotiations in Moscow? Here's the view from Yuriy Solton. He writes the following:

The chief subject of negotiations is the implementation of the reciprocal nuclear disarmament initiatives advanced by the American and Russian presidents. Boris Yeltsin offered to George Bush in Camp David on 1 February to cut the number of nuclear warheads on strategic delivery vehicles by up to two-and-a-half thousand pieces. Mr. Bush was more anxious as he suggested another figure, four-and-a-half thousand. For their part, Americans have shown keen interest in the proposal that Mr. Yeltsin spelled out at the UN Security Council summit where he suggested the creation of a global space defense system as a safeguard against the unsanctioned or accidental nuclear missiles launch. Both sides have made progress in coordinating steps towards nuclear disarmament, the key field of security. Yet another example of enhanced bilateral trust has been the invitation extended to James Baker to visit Chelyabinsk, where a top secret factory produces warheads for nuclear missiles.

There is no question for Russia whether to head for scrapping the nuclear arsenal or not. The formal principle of parity based on the quantitative count of nuclear weapons gives way to the least defense sufficiency principle. Russia today spends more time on dismantling arms than on their manufacture. But on its own Russia will hardly cope with the costly and dangerous process, so the American Congress has set aside 400 million dollars for it as aid to safely store the dismantled nuclear weapons and convert them to peaceful use. A concrete plan for the utilization is expected to be agreed in Moscow.

There is yet another problem, a purely human one. What is meant is not to change the mentality of the military, who are scared and frightened that the nuclear shield protecting the USSR will become holey. The question is how nuclear scientists could be helped to survive conversion. There are over 100,000 specialists in the former USSR who have access to nuclear technology. Of them nearly two, three thousand have been initiated into top classified data. The problem of their social security and their possible but undesirable emigration to eastern Muslim countries interested in such services to advance their nuclear progams were discussed at a conference with Boris Yeltsin last month. Certain measures were mapped out. But help is essential, too. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and French President Francois Mitterrand have proposed raising an international fund to provide employment to nuclear physicists who may be jobless through conversion. Andrey Kozyrev and James Baker are expected to back up such an idea officially.

Let's hope that on all these and other matters negotiators in Moscow will achieve concrete results to start filling with substance the Russian-American declaration on fostering partnership and friendship between the two countries.

Yeltsin To Ask Israel To 'Soften' Stand

LD1602123792 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1200 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, intends to ask Israel to soften its stand at the Arab-Israeli talks on a Middle East settlement. This, according to the Palestinian news agency WAFA, is said in a message from the Russian president to the PLO leader, Yasir 'Arafat. Russia, the message says, links progress in the Middle East process with the need of stopping the construction of Jewish settlements on the occupied territories and respecting the rights of their native residents.

Yeltsin Scheduled Visit to Finland Postponed

LD1702105292 Moscow TASS in English 0910 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Surikov]

[Text] Helsinki February 17 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to Finland, scheduled for this March has been postponed, Finnish Foreign Ministry officials said.

Yeltsin will visit Finland in July for the Helsinki-2 summit of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Yeltsin Survival Examined at U.S. White House

PM1602193792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Andrey Kamorin: "Backing Yeltsin: Washington Weighs Up His Chances of Survival and Calculates Possible Losses If Wrong"]

[Text] Speaking at a White House briefing, M. Fitzwater, U.S. presidential press secretary, said: "We believe that President Yeltsin is a strong leader and a symbol of stability in the region. We have great hopes for cooperation with him in resolving all existing problems. In our view he is a very strong-willed and bold leader—a man whom we believe will remain in his post and provide leadership in Russia and its part of the world for a long time to come."

The White House spokesman's statement attracted a great deal of interest not only because it contained an unusually extensive personal description of the Russian president, but also because it may be the culmination of the arguments over how sincerely Washington believes in the success of the Yeltsin reforms.

After all, literally a day before the press secretary's statement, THE WASHINGTON POST published an article from a correspondent who concluded, citing official sources: "Ranking figures in the U.S. Administration see Yeltsin as an interim figure."

The contradiction between those two statements is today one of the subjects being most vigorously discussed by analysts of U.S.-Russian relations. Thus, Vice President Dan Quayle, speaking in Germany recently, stated: "We knew who would follow Gorbachev. It was Yeltsin, with his devotion to the reform program. We do not know which forces may replace Yeltsin." Commenting on Quayle's speech, THE WASHINGTON POST wrote that the vice president was "indirectly hinting that Yeltsin's days are numbered."

Needless to say, this is not a question of the personality of Boris Nikolayevich, whose image has evolved rapidly in the American mind from the "most exotic exhibit in the Russian political menagerie"—as he was called during his first trip to the United States—to "my friend Boris," as he was dubbed by George Bush during his recent visit to Washington. This transformation may have been too rapid, and many U.S. politicians have still not determined their attitude toward the Russian president. Nonetheless, the essence of the problem is that, given the cadre turnover in the Russian leadership and the dissension among the president's staffers, Yeltsin personally is the "point of departure" when it comes to deciding the key issue—how far should aid to our country go?

Only practical steps in this direction will be decisive proof that Washington is indeed "backing Yeltsin." Aware of this, Fitzwater said at the briefing that the transfer of humanitarian aid to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] might be expedited. Unfortunately, this will hardly defuse the debate, since opinions now divide on the question of a stabilization fund for the introduction of ruble convertibility—the need for which was mentioned so often by the Russian president and his team during their recent visit to the United States.

Here too the problem of trusting in the stability of the positions taken by Russia's leaders is again a prime factor. The influential Republican Senator Richard Lugar recently stated: "You should be sure about what you are actually planning to stabilize. It is impossible to stabilize a bottomless barrel. You must be sure that you are associating yourself with an economic plan whose implementation will not be halted in three weeks' time." As a counter to this, R. Gephardt, leader of the Democratic faction in the House of Representatives, wrote in THE NEW YORK TIMES: "Bush's policy toward the CIS is not just a terrible crime but a crude blunder. By not wanting to act, the United States may shut itself off from the most important new foreign market and rich source of raw material resources in the 20th century. All this can yet be corrected, and we can help the CIS countries carry out a critically important democratic experiment."

Let us not forget, however, that the election campaign in America is getting into gear. It is doubtful that Gephardt would have expressed himself so energetically if the aid under discussion had to be allocated by a Democratic rather than a Republican administration. For his part, George Bush too has been forced to act not only as the President but as a presidential hopeful. At a time of recession in the U.S. economy it is a huge risk to participate in a multibillion-dollar stabilization fund. Were the Yeltsin reforms to fail, that risk could cause serious trouble for the Republicans.

The differences among George Bush's staffers are quite natural. The officially declared faith in the stability of the Russian leaders' positions clearly exists side by side with profound doubts on this score. The U.S press believes that many ranking Republicans today find it psychologically easier to come to terms with Yeltsin's failure beforehand rather than to take a resolute step to meet him halfway. Should the skeptics' opinion prevail, then, as the journalist Jim Hoagland puts it, "this would be a gamble which the White House would pray to lose every day." Indeed, on the one hand there is a political strategy involving long-term U.S. interests; while, on the other, there are election tactics. President Bush and his advisers are facing a hard choice. Does Fitzwater's statement mean that this choice has already been made and that practical action will soon follow? Let's wait and see.

Deryabin Cited on Yugoslav Mission

PM1702113592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 5

[Report by Yevgeniy Vostrukhov: "Results of Russian Diplomat's Visit"]

[Text] Belgrade—Yu. Deryabin, the Russian Foreign Ministry's special representative, who has visited Belgrade, Zagreb, and Ljubljana in accordance with instructions from President B. Yeltsin, has completed his visit to Yugoslavia. The aim of his trip was to clarify the question of Russia's as yet unannounced official recognition of the state independence of Croatia and Slovenia.

Before flying to Moscow Yu. Deryabin answered journalists' questions.

In embarking on the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia Russia is not discounting Yugoslavia, within which there will remain those peoples and regions of the SFRY which want to live together. As before the Russian Federation views Yugoslavia as a subject of international law and recognizes its membership of all international organizations, including the United Nations. At the same time, Yu. Deryabin stressed, we would like to establish closer relations with the new states in the Balkans and to develop all-around ties with them.

Here particularly close friendly ties link Russia with Serbia, and they are continuing to strengthen. Some local observers through the TANJUG agency have expressed the opinion that the steps Russia is taking to recognize the independence of the two Yugoslav republics are aimed against Serbia and Yugoslavia's unity, against the political solution of the crisis which has emerged. These statements in the press do not accord with reality, Yu. Deryabin stated. Russia does not want to remain aloof from events once again and we have already been late several times in the past.

The talks were of a businesslike and friendly nature. An agreement in principle was reached to submit to the governments in the very near future the draft of a wide-scale treaty on the development of interstate relations between Russia and Serbia for a long period. On behalf of President S. Milosevic there was confirmation of the previously issued invitation to B. Yeltsin to pay an official visit to Serbia at a convenient time.

Answering your IZVESTIYA correspondent's question about the date for the official establishment of diplomatic relations with Slovenia and Croatia, Yu. Deryabin said the question is still unresolved.

The further delay in bringing in UN peacemaking forces is jeopardizing the fragile truce which is increasingly being violated, increasing the number of casualties on both sides. This opinion is shared by many members of the Security Council, as became known in Belgrade from a REUTER report. But so far instead of the 10,000 promised "blue helmets," by a Security Council decision a further 25 UN observers have arrived in Yugoslavia.

I shall add the latest news from the Serbian Krajina (West Croatia). Its leader, M. Babic, has convened a session of parliament from which, according to news agency reports, about half the deputies were absent. Babic passed a resolution on a nationwide referendum which should determine once and for all the Serbian Krajina's attitude toward the UN plan.

Government Recognizes Republic of Slovenia

LD1402214892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2022 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Zubko]

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Feb (TASS)—Russia recognized the Republic of Slovenia today. The note to this effect was delivered to Slovenian Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel in Ljubljana by the Russian consul general in Zagreb (Croatia), Yuriy Girenko.

The Russian consul general, TANJUG notes, says that this is the first step toward establishing diplomatic relations. The relevant talks on this matter will be held. Until diplomatic relations are established, the interests of Slovenia in Russia will be represented by the Moscow office of the "Slovenijales" firm and Russian interests will be represented by the consulate general in Zagreb.

Extends Recognition to Croatia

LD1702163692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Feb (TASS)—Franjo Tudjman, the president of the Republic of Croatia, was handed a note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation on its recognition of Croatia's independence in Zagreb today. Yuriy Girenko, the Russian general consul in Zagreb, delivered the note.

CSFR's Calfa, Dienstbier Arrive for Talks

LD1802092392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0840 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krolikov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)—Marian Calfa, chairman of the CSFR Goverment, arrived in Moscow today for a short working visit. The program for this one-day visit envisages talks between Marian Calfa and Gennadiy Burbulis, state secretary and first vice prime minister, and the signing of Russian-Czechoslovak documents.

A meeting is planned later in the day between the Czechoslovak prime minister and Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation. There will be parallel talks between Andrey Kozyrev and Jiri Dienstbier, the foreign ministers of the two countries.

A cargo of humanitarian aid for Russia also arrived on the plane with the chairman of the Government of Czechoslovakia.

Gaydar, Delegation Begin Spanish Visit

LD1702001192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2155 GMT 16 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shekhovtsov]

[Text] Madrid, 17 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Yegor Gaydar, deputy prime minister and minister of economy and finances of the Russian Federation, arrived in Spain on an official visit on Sunday [16 February] evening. He heads the Russian Federation's delegation which includes Pavel Grachev, chairman of the State Defense Committee; Petr Aven, chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Ties; Vladimir Shibayev, deputy chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Ties; and Yevgeniy Shashkov, advisor to the deputy prime minister. During the visit, Ye. Gaydar will meet with top-ranking representatives of the Spanish Government, the leadership of the Supreme Council of the Spanish Chambers of Commerce, and with major Spanish entrepreneurs.

It is very important for us to preserve all positive tendencies which exist in our bilateral relations, said Ye. Gaydar in a conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent. We can advance them first of all in the area of increasing our country's export and through attracting direct Spanish capital investment in the Russian economy. There are several very interesting projects that were started and then suspended somewhat as a result of understandable political reasons and the political uncertainty. Now both sides want to stimulate the continuation of these projects. One other practical matter is the agreement on credits totalling 1.5 billion dollars which was signed with the Union. This agreement is very important for us and one would like to remove the obstacles that have arisen in the way of its full implementation.

Economic Agreements Signed

LD1802103192 Moscow TASS in English 0855 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shekhovtsov]

[Text] Madrid February 18 TASS— The first day of the current official visit to Spain by Vice Premier, Minister for Economy and Finances of the Russian Federation Yegor Gaydar was very busy. He went to the National Institute of Industry (INI), met leaders of the Supreme Council of Spanish Chambers of Commerce, had talks with Spanish Minister for Industry, Trade and Tourism Jose Claudio Aransadi.

On Monday [17 February] evening the sides signed several documents confirming Russia's succession to all the rights and commitments arising from Soviet-Spanish agreements on credits, mutual protection of investment, as well as on economic and industrial cooperation.

The Russian vice premier and the Spanish minister for industry, trade and tourism then held a joint news conference. Addressing journalists, Gaydar thanked the government of Spain for the "promptness with which the problem of prolonging the credit agreement between Spain and the Soviet Union and its transformation into a credit agreement between Spain and the Russian Federation was settled."

"I think," Gaydar said, "this decision serves the interests of both our nations and allows us to perpetuate and strengthen the commercial relations that have developed between our two countries at the end of the eighties. As to our cooperation in the sphere of investment, we have reached agreement on the areas that shall enjoy maximum patronage on the part of the governments of Spain and Russia. I am referring, first and foremost, to investments in the power sector of the Russian economy, investments to complete work on projects that had to be suspended in Russia due to lack of hard currency and financial resources, and also in farm products processing enterprises."

Jose Claudio Aransadi noted that the sides also analysed during their talks other aspects of possible cooperation between Russia and Spain. He particularly noted Spain's interest in purchases of Russian gas and petroleum

products, joint ventures in petroleum processing and also in the exploitation of nuclear power plants.

"The signed documents," Gaydar told ITAR-TASS, "besides being important precedents, are also of immense significance from the economic point of view. They stipulate the unfreezing of 200 million U.S. dollars worth of previously concluded contracts, which can now be used without further ado, and the use of another 300 million U.S. dollars for current needs and purchases, the allocation of large sums for various investment ventures. We plan, first and foremost, to furnish means to the farm products processing sector, and to spend a part of the money on the creation of a market infrastructure needed today by private farm husbandries, collective and state farms, in order to overcome the monopolism of processing establishments."

Withdrawal of Troops in Germany 'Under Threat'

MK1502120092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Feb 92 pp 1,2

[Report by Pavel Felgengauer: "Army: Germany Recognizes Russia as USSR's Rightful Successor, But Not in Everything. Financial Dispute Over Troop Withdrawal from Germany Could Develop Into Conflict"]

[Text] After the former USSR "ceased to exist" (was disbanded), troops on territory outside the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] (Germany, Poland, and the Baltic) were transferred to Russian jurisdiction. President Yeltsin announced this publicly 17 January at the all-Army Officers Conference. However, Decree No. 4 "On Measures to Regulate Economic Issues Linked With the Withdrawal of the Western Group of Forces [WGF] from the FRG and Its Deployment on Russian Territory" was signed 4 January 1992, and a Russian Government resolution of 20 January ratified the personnel of the main interdepartmental commission on the WGF troop withdrawal (chaired by General Pavel Grachev), the commission to manage the special transition fund in German marks for the maintenance and withdrawal of the WGF, as well as the new Russian members of the joint (previously Soviet-German) commissions and groups in charge of various aspects of the WGF withdrawal. A state withdrawal commission was also set up under the Russian president.

Having thus settled fundamental issues, the Russian leadership made a serious attempt to move on to settling more individual practical tasks linked with the maintenance of troops in Germany, housing construction, the sale of property, and professional retraining for men discharged into the reserve. A delegation led by General Grachev, comprising "the chairmen and representatives of the new Russian organs" paid an official visit to Germany 1 through 7 February, but the talks with the Germans bore no fruit—Germany did not accept as lawful the decisions adopted by the Russian president and government.

One delegation member told NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent that "the Germans immediately cast doubt on our authority." Russia considers itself the USSR's rightful successor on all Soviet-German accords regulating the troop withdrawal, in the belief "that Russia has been approved as the rightful successor by the joint decision of the Council of CIS Heads of State whereby Russia continues membership of the Security Council and other international organizations." But the Germans have totally different views on this: They refused to hold serious talks in the absence of plenipotentiary representatives from Ukraine and Belarus. Especially since this period saw a brief visit to Germany by President Kravchuk, who assured the Germans that Ukraine had not entrusted Russia with holding any talks on the withdrawal of the WGF. Thus, the juridical status of the WGF troops on German territory has suddenly become dangerously vague.

However, as is usually the case, there is a quite matter-of-fact reason for the legal and diplomatic shilly-shallying—money. Germany has gotten sick of paying for unification, and the delighted smiles of 1990 have given way to petty (and not so petty) carping objections in 1992. Germany wants the troops to leave somewhat sooner and for this to cost as little as possible. And it is far easier to hold talks with a joint delegation: Russians, Belarussians, and Ukrainians will fight among themselves, claims on Germany (legitimate claims too) will remain ignored, and the troops will be withdrawn just the same.

During the talks monetary problems prevailed over problems of rightful succession: The German side in principle agreed to buy up all WGF real estate by paying a fixed amount. However, the sum cited by Russia (DM8-10 billion) [deutsche marks] was unacceptable. The German side is presenting counterclaims for compensation for environmental damage. However, whereas the Russian request is based on some element of calculation, the "environmental damage" has not yet been determined in any way, and presumably this sum could ultimately correspond exactly to the cost of the military camps and bases.

Thus, the "ignorant" (according to one delegation member) agreements concluded by the former Soviet Foreign Ministry and Defense Ministry leadership in the hope of "friendship with the Germans" have put the WGF and the Russian Government in a difficult position.

Moreover, this is an old Soviet tradition. After the war the U.S. occupying authorities bought up all land in Germany on which they sited their troops, while the Soviet Government did the opposite: In 1959-1960 it gave the GDR Government land belonging to it (land confiscated by decision of the Nuremberg Tribunal from Nazi criminals and criminal organizations). So it is virtually impossible to sell WGF property at auction now. The Germans are demanding that all the money go into a closed account to pay off mutual claims. Moreover, according to Aleksandr Timerko, chairman of the

committee for social security for servicemen, the money received from auctioning property without land has totaled a few percent of the real cost. However, Russia can take some retaliatory action: A number of foreign firms (U.S., Japanese, and Austrian among them) have expressed a desire to lease WGF property and set up joint enterprises for the remaining period until the withdrawal is completed and then enter into litigation [suditsya] with the German authorities. While a number of law firms in Germany itself are trying to prove in court that some of the land confiscated after the war still belongs to Russia. It is hard to predict how these proceedings will turn out, but they will undoubtedly go on a long time and cause the German Government plenty of difficulties.

What is more, the Germans have refused altogether to hold talks (without referring in this case to the absence of Ukrainian and Belarus representatives) on increasing pay (in marks) for WGF troops in line with inflation (the cost of transport, electricity, domestic expenditure, and so on has risen).

However, the troops are still being paid, although some delegation members got the impression that in the event of complications the German side may stop payment. Funds allocated for housing construction for the troops being withdrawn have already been frozen (at the end of December, after Gorbachev's resignation). Correspondingly, the incipient construction of military camps, including two in Belarus and four in Ukraine, has been suspended. According to Aleksandr Timerko, chairman of the committee for social security for servicemen, DM200 million allocated for retraining discharged servicemen has been blocked. The troops' organized withdrawal is under threat, and this could have sorry consequences for Central Europe as a whole. However, delegation head Grachev said "that the troop withdrawal will continue; we will not abandon our people."

Federation Affairs

Rutskoy Criticizes Government, Warns Republics

LD1502183292 London ITV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Interview with Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy by correspondent Oliver Phillips in Moscow on 14 February; Rutskoy speaks in Russian with English subtitles; from the "Channel 4 News" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Phillips] With his president occupied by the Commonwealth summit in Minsk, Vice President Rutskoy took advantage of his absence to launch his bitterest attack so far on Moscow's struggling government. He labeled Yeltsin's administration criminal.

[Rutskoy] A government that cannot feed its children, where children go hungry at school, where old people have to rummage through dustbins for food—that government is criminal and should stand trial. [passage omitted]

[Phillips] He [Rutskoy] is a fierce protector of the rights of Russians in former Soviet republics. Today he issued a stark warning to any state that discriminates against them.

[Rutskoy] We will turn off their oil and stop all other supplies. Those leaders who do not understand this will have to be taught a lesson.

[Phillips] Yeltsin has now placed him in charge of agricultural reform—a task his opponents hope will sink him. The vice president, however, is undaunted by the challenge.

[Rutskoy] It is stupid to think they can scare me with this appointment. It is unethical to make me state my position as an expert on agriculture. Everyone knows I'm no expert in this field. I'm a pilot and engineer by profession.

Government 'Should Be Put on Trial'

LD1502094792 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 15 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Voronkov]

[Text] London February 15 TASS—In an interview with the British ITN Television Network, Russia's Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy strongly criticised the economic policy of the Russian Government.

Reforms are being effected too quickly and are leading to growing impoverishment of the Russian people, he said.

Rutskoy said the Russian Government should be put on trial for its activities. He pointed out that he did not intend to yield and would continue to criticise the Russian Government, emphasising at the same time that he was supported by the people and did not rule out his candidacy as a future president.

Touching upon the recently granted powers to him to be in charge of reforms in the agrarian sector, Rutskoy said that "it is simply ridiculous to think" that something could frighten him.

Vice President Rutskoy To Meet With Cossacks

LD1702223192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent V. Budnikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Atamans of the Russian Cossacks Union have gathered at the Malyy Soviet in the Central House of the Soviet Army. The appearance of Vice President Rutskoy is expected there.

[Begin video recording] [Budnikov] What kind of questions does Rutskoy intend to discuss with the atamans?

[A. Martynov, ataman of the Cossacks Union] Aleksandr Vladimirovich was given an instruction by the president to organize a meeting with the atamans, and I think that there are two questions which should interest him currently. They are the question of land, and the development of agriculture, the state of agriculture in the Cossack oblasts, and the second question is that of Cossacks' service in the Armed Forces. [end recording]

[Budnikov] After the closure of the council, some of the atamans are going to the Far East. They will meet with Valentin Fedorov, head of the administration in Sakhalin. The possibility of the resettlement of Russian Cossacks, who have been forced out of the southern republics and Transcauasia by a wave of nationalism, to Sakhalin and the Kurils will be discussed.

Calls for Border Demarcation

OW1802155292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1406 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Democracy is strong authority plus strict observance of the laws. It is high time to end lawlessness in relation to Russia, the Russian Federation's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy told Cossack leaders in Moscow, February 18.

Addressing Aleksandr Rutskoy, the leaders (atamans) of various Cossack formations restored in Russia and in the former Union republics, demanded that the Cossacks be rehabilitated and that the problems of land utilization in their territories be solved, and offered their assistance in "restoring order on the Russian borders and in preventing the disintegration of their native country."

Judging from the Cossacks' statements, the situation is particularly tense on the southern borders of Russia and in the former Union republics, whose border regions are densely populated by Russians. A representative of the Orenburg Cossack army said in this connection that "the government was sitting on a powder box which could explode in a couple of months". If such an explosion occurred Russia would have a sea of blood on its borders, not merely a conflict similar to that in Karabakh, he said.

The Russian vice-president urged immediate demarcation of the borders and backed all of the Cossacks' demands.

Comments on New Appointment

LD1802132692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Video shows Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy addressing meeting] [Begin Rutskoy recording] Absolutely everything has been taken from me that it was possible to take. I have just come out of the hospital and I am told—here you are, now you have agriculture. I will speak frankly. Perhaps they wanted to cut me, but they will not succeed. I will cope with agriculture as well, if I am not hindered. [end recording]

[Correspondent S. Sokolova] Aleksandr Rutskoy said this at a meeting today with Cossacks from the Chechen, Kuban, and Stavropol areas, Kazakhstan, the Dnestr, and other regions. The main request from the Cossacks to the Russian Government was that they be given rights to land ownership and to their own army, that a law be issued on the rehabilitation of the Cossacks, and that they be recognized as citizens of the Russian Federation with full rights. If we are given rights and land, we will be able to feed the whole of Russia, the Cossacks said. Aleksandr Rutskoy is their only hope.

[Begin Rutskoy recording] How many times must it be said: Let us rehabilitate people brought down for no reason. Let us return Cossack property. Let us return land tenure, as proposed. After all, they are not just sitting back. They fed Russia before and they will feed it again. [end recording]

Rutskoy Interviewed on Privatization, Army

LD1602001592 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1340 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Feature on Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, including recorded portions of two interviews; the first by unidentified correspondents, date and place not given; the second by Correspondent Yuriy Reshetnikov in Moscow on 12 February; from the "Descendants" program]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rutskoy] I was not in captivity for long. After I was handed over—I mean, taken by the Pakistani authorities—they put me in an appropriate intelligence directorate of theirs. It was a natural attempt to obtain all the information in which they were interested, but that did not happen. Perhaps that is why my reception in Pakistan was so hospitable and pleasant because, all the same, Pakistanis respect your honor and dignity. They are a civilized people. It did not happen. Then I tried to do everything in my power to get information leaked about where, in fact, I was. In practically one and a half months I was exchanged.

[Correspondent] They simply exchanged you for someone?

[Rutskoy] Yes. There were various rumors that I was ransomed, that 2.5 million dollars was paid for me. That is all rubbish. I was simply exchanged.

[Correspondent] For whom?

[Rutskoy] I was exchanged for an intelligence representative of a neighboring country. It is kind of a secret. I will not talk about this. [passage omitted]

So, we have just deregulated prices. That was not deregulation of prices; they simply up and raised prices by 10, 15, 20 times. That is not a market economy. At whose expense? Now everyone is shouting that the shops have to be privatized quickly. Well, say we privatize the shops, what happens next? Who will produce output? Who will produce output? In whose honor will prices fall?

Some people now are even attempting to make some sort of an anti-marketeer out of me. No way. I am for a market economy, for a civilized market economy, but people cannot be stripped totally, completely, do you see? [passage omitted]

You have to understand that there should be a very thought-out way of doing something. Everything should be modelled, calculated, and projected. No wonder I told you that there is only one way to save the day and that was to introduce an economic state of emergency. I understand this as not resorting to the stick again. Then what? We need to take stock of everything we have, get our bearings, and take a look at the state everything is in. Reform in finance should be carried out immediately because nobody wants the money we have now. Today's ruble will not become convertible as Gaydar wishes. [passage omitted]

Desiring something is not enough. You cannot just go to bed today and wake up the next morning to see that the market is here. Everything should be calculated. What is needed is discipline. Do you understand? Discipline, not anarchy!

I can tell you that I can understand any kind of situation, but when 23 out of 60 open-hearth furnaces are brought to a standstill this is something I cannot understand. You do not understand this, and nobody will understand this. [passage omitted: Rutskoy explains that people were deceived by hopes of living in communism and now in the market, but the realities shock people when a person cannot afford anything at today's prices.]

We are the Yeltsin team, even those who have quarrelled with him at present. I honestly tell you that I deeply respect Yeltsin as a person. He is a very honest person, I would like to tell you. One can count such honest people on the fingers of two hands. He will not even accept a cigarette lighter, so honest is he. If you say to him: Here, take it; he simply will not take it. I know him very well. He is a most honorable and a most honest person.

The president should adhere to the Constitution. If, say, Boris Nikolayevich—with all his negative and positive qualities; we all have our negative and positive qualities—takes up the stance by considering that the Constutition is the highest value, that the law is the highest value, that everybody is equal before the law and that everybody should observe the law, then he will be an ideal president. It is difficult to imagine a more ideal president than he. [passage omitted: Rutskoy recalls the difficulties of coping with Yeltsin in the past. He also recalls that various shadowy figures approached him with all sorts of proposals, but he stresses that he gave Yeltsin his officer's word to stand by him to the end.]

[Correspondent] What is your health like at the moment?

[Rutskoy] I am in fine shape. Let us arm wrestle and see who is stronger.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct]

[Rutskoy] Next week, I think.

[Correspondent] Can we say that you will return to work in a few days?

[Rutskoy] Of course, next week.

[Correspondent] You can do your work here.

[Rutskoy] Yes, papers are being brought to me here. I simply wish to have a chat with Boris Nikolayevich. I have some good proposals to make. I merely want to occupy myself with some serious work, with the withdrawal of troops for instance, with accommodation for them. Nobody is dealing with this.

[Correspondent] Nobody is dealing with it?.

[Rutskoy] Yes.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct]

[Rutskoy] Yes, with the reduction of armaments, and so on and so forth, with customs control. All this has to be sorted out.

[Correspondent] Can we talk about the Army?

[Rutskoy] Why not? Yes, the Army has two functions: Defensive, and correspondingly, offensive. Therefore, Ruslan [Khasbulatov] was right to ask who this Army intends to attack and how. If we are talking about defense, then no doubt it makes more sense to have single armed forces within the Commonwealth of Independent States. If we are saying that we have an explicitly defensive doctrine, especially after Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin's declaration, then we will base all our strategy and all our Army accordingly on the principle of a defensive doctrine.

Again, however, what might be the outcome of current moves to break up the Army into national components, and especially, to force people to swear an oath of allegiance to this or that banner or this or that nation? What will this lead to? What guarantee is there that this or that political leader will not develop ambitions, once again, and give the order for a show-down, involving the use of weapons? Where is the guarantee?

Let us look at it this way: It is easy enough to decide who is entitled to the Army's real estate, to the armaments, and so on and so forth. What we need to do now is to add up budget spending on the USSR armed forces, for the last 45 post-war years, at least, and work out in percentages how much each Republic contributed to the armed

forces budget. We then would satisfy requests for the establishment of separate national guards, using the same percentages.

I understand the role of national guards in the following way: National guards are those selfsame internal troops whose job is to protect public order and to combat crime and terrorism within each country. I am wholly in favor of this. In this respect, each should be given back what he contributed. Personally, I am outraged by Estonia's announcement, for instance, that it claims part of the Baltic fleet. Esteemed gentlemen, forgive me for saying so, but with all respect, let us see who contributed how much to the building of the Baltic Fleet.

[Correspondent] ...and to its running costs.

[Rutskoy] And to its running costs. Therefore, you must understand that the language of figures is the fairest language there is. Now that we have begun dividing everything up, let us see who contributed what, then return that same amount. Let us look even further: If we are talking about independent states—I stress that: independent states—then let us take a look at international law, too. International law envisages the demarcation of borders. Why, for instance, given the demands of the times or the evolution, say, of some kind of new democratic process, should we confine Russia within its 19th century borders?

I do not understand this at all. I am not a person of imperial views. I believe that everything that belongs to a nation, all that belongs to a state, should belong to that state. Why? Because every state has a nation. And every nation...respectively every person has a family, children, who will live after us, and what will they say to us because of that? There is international law. Let us draw borders. Let us do it objectively, honestly, using international law. Then we will define ourselves. Disputes such as the present one over Crimea, however, or let us say Izmail or Nikolayev Oblast or Dnepropetrovsk Oblast...

I am sorry, but it will not do any good to those political leaders who came to power through nationalist careerism [natsional karyerizm]. With all due respect to Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine—he is, after all, a former CPSU activist, CPSU ideologist— he engaged in ideology. It still shows today.

Can one go any further on nationalism? Where is the guarantee that, let us say, in five or 10 years someone will not start a conflict with Russians in that same Ukraine? Or with Tajiks, Uzbeks, or Jews who live there? Where is the guarantee, if the question is put, as it is put today? If we agree within the CIS that we will have a common economic space, then excuse me, who is building check points along borders? This is what we are talking about, you see? We are talking about justice.

If we say that we are a union [as heard] of independent states, if we say that we are a common economic space, if we say that we have a single currency, then let us develop this situation in that direction. But look what is happening in real life! But why should Russia be made a fool of once again? When Ukraine issues its own currency, when Moldova issues its own currency, or let us say, when that same Tajikistan issues its own currency...

This is what we are talking about. About justice, about people. That we are all people, that after all we all walk under one God: Some walk under Allah, others under Jesus Christ... So, in everything, everything, in what we started this conversation with—prisoners, then we continued our conversation with the economy, then discussed the armed forces—all of this is the meaning of life. This is what life means. [passage omitted: Rutskoy speaks about veterans' housing problems]

So, is there any authority? What do we have? Is it anarachy? If authority existed, then issues would be resolved accordingly, but since there is no authority, complete anarchy is present. Privatization also will take place here in an uncontrolled fashion. You say: After all, our fate is determined in such a way that the current black market capital must be there in the future as well so as to help later.

So we are creating a mafia state. We need to develop via a system of joint-stock holding and credit financing, giving the individual an opportunity to become a personality. The state should guarantee this credit for the individual. [passage omitted: Russians have suffered so much that they are now indifferent to everything]

[Video cuts to Rutskoy's office in Moscow, and interview by Correspondent Yuriy Reshetnikov] [Reshetnikov] Aleksandr Vladimirovich, we thank you for the opportunity granted to Russian Television for you to meet us. Allow me to ask how you are.

[Rutskoy] Well, everything is okay. I think my external appearance shows that everything is okay, and I am full of resolve and willingness to work. I have a supply of good spirits and energy, and correspondingly, a supply of good wishes.

[Reshetnikov] We know you as a valiant flyer and successful politician. Now we have gotten to know you as a publicist as well, thanks to those articles that recently have appeared in the Soviet press, in PRAVDA, among others. How do you relate personally to the last article, which appeared in PRAVDA on 8 February?

[Rutskoy] Well, you see, perhaps the dates are inconvenient here with regard to the appearance of this article because—incidentally I even alluded there, that, let us take a look: Today it is Manezh Square with some people, and tomorrow it is a hunger strike with other people; how can all this actually end? I even referred to this there—as far as the content of this article is concerned, I have a deficiency and I admit it; maybe I am somewhat blunt.

You see, however, I am accustomed to not changing my stance, but to calling a spade a spade. The time has come when one has to talk frankly with people and with our

society. People cannot be deceived anymore. Do you see? Deceit of the people may simply end badly, and not only because we have an economic crisis, but because our society is politicized to such an extent in the political sphere that it has become explosive.

You know, I personally do not like it when people try to classify me as some kind of loud-mouth and say that I am part of some kind of opposition against the president. I have never been in opposition to the president and never will be because—and I have already stated this—there is such a concept as an officer's word. When Boris Nikolayevich and I were elected, I gave my word that I would stand by him to the end, come what may. And indeed, I am sticking to my word.

[Reshetnikov] Let us get back to the article. Its appearance in PRAVDA coincided chronologically with the Congress of Democratic Patriotic Forces and certain rallies. Do you not permit yourself the thought that someone would have liked to have had the opportunity to manipulate a personality who is popular in the country in this manner?

[Rutskoy] I will tell you honestly. I handed this article over to the editorial board—let me remember—two weeks before, if I am not mistaken, and—you can call any editor—I never insisted on any dates. I handed in the article and it was up to them when they published it.

As far the Congress of Patriotic Forces is concerned, you remember that there was a great argument on the pages of newspapers and magazines and on television and radio. I went to this congress on purpose, to speak so as to pull the rug from under the feet of those who were attempting to portray me as some sort of leader of the opposition forces. I spoke precisely and clearly.

This speech has been recorded by the media. It was quite a voluminous speech. Strangely enough, the foreign media broadcast it. For some reason ours felt inhibited. We will put that in quotation marks, of course. This speech was objective in the way of questions on the state structure and questions on ethnic relations.

In it I expressed myself in clear-cut form on the black uniform, that is, the Pamyat society—clearly and precisely—there were even whistles, cries, and so on, in the hall. For this reason I spoke and publicly left because by this token I wanted to make people understand what kind of opposition I take up, in any case to understand my attitude to the president, to the government, and to those events that are occurring in our society. Quite honestly and objectively, I never even thought, and do not intend to think that I will be the head of some kind of opposition.

[Reshetnikov] Before we started filming, you mentioned that you spent two and one-half hours today with Boris Nikolayevich. What did you say to each other, face to face?

[Rutskoy] I will be honest with you. On my way to his office I felt as if my legs would barely carry me there. I even forgot about the pain in my leg. That was on my way there. Now I am in much better spirits after Boris Nikolayevich and I were able to talk frankly. He told me what he thought, I did likewise: How I see this issue, how he sees that issue. You know, our views coincided on a very large number of issues, such as land reform, and how to develop the private farming sector and promote smallholdings and allotments.

He said: You take this problem. I know what you are capable of. Get on with it now; give the people land right now, right now. I will let you hand out punishments and sackings and whatever else for failure to implement the land reform. The manufacture of agricultural machinery has to be expanded immediately. Develop small and medium-sized processing plants.

I had it all worked out, even before I went into the hospital. The blueprints were ready, worked out, and thought through to set up a shareholders' company to produce agricultural equipment.

Regarding Boris Nikolayevich's feelings, he read the article, but he did not say anything, whether he had read it or not. I have always said that he is an interesting man. When I went in to his office it was nice to see him coming toward me, smiling and saying: Hello, how are things, etc. It had not been like that between us for a long time. I have just drafted a presidential decree on my duties. This is it lying here.

[Reshetnikov] What will your duties be now?

[Rutskoy] Well, I have been giving this some thought because everything is interdependent: The land reform, for instance, promoting private business in producing food, agricultural machinery, small and medium-sized processing plants. The money has to come from somewhere; the people have to come from somewhere. We have to develop a construction industry to serve agriculture. It is all interdependent. So if land reform is to be our cornerstone, then I have homed in on the issue of troop reductions because people are going to be discharged from service, so they need work. We have to think about where they will live and what profession they will take up. [passage omitted]

So if we want to solve the food problem, if we want the land finally to start working for the people, benefitting the people; if we want our people in the countryside to live normally, and if we want an abundance of agricultural produce, then we need a whole concept to sort this problem out. Again, this is tied in with the military-industrial complex because we need a state-sponsored program for conversion, for the production of agricultural machinery, for the processing industry, am I not right?

Boris Nikolayevich said: Take the outcome of the private farmers' congress and study it closely, extremely closely. All the questions raised at that congress should be

resolved immediately, in 1992. In accordance with the congress, keep in touch with Chernichenko and other leaders of the private farmers' movement, take a look at what can be done today and what we can do tomorrow.

Cited on Market

LD1502151792

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1340 GMT on 15 February carries the 50-minute "Descendants" program, subtitled "Character", which profiles and interviews Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy. The date and place of some interview portions of the program are not given.

The program opens with Rutskoy, dressed informally, talking about his capture by Afghan Mujahiddin after his plane was shot down in Afghanistan. He explains that he was only saved from the tribesmen's vengeance by the fact that he was fairly quickly taken to Pakistan. He was exchanged for an intelligence agent from a "neighboring country", but says he will not reveal any details. Continuing, Rutskoy says that the pull-out agreement should have specified that every last Russian POW should be repatriated, but we lived in a society then in which people didn't matter.

Changing the subject, Rutskoy next says that society was deceived for 74 years, and now it is important for people to be closely informed of what is going on. You can't have a regulated market, only a regulated transition to the market, he says. The price liberalization wasn't a liberalization: it was only a price hike. We keep hearing about commodity exchanges and the selling of goods, but why are their no reports about enterprises producing a new line in fashionable shoes, for instance? To forget about the elderly is the worst offense, he goes on. The people who are up to their necks in oil at the well-head are paid very little, but those who sell it make all the money. We make money for the sake of money.

As for privatization, Rutskoy says, who is in a position to buy a macaroni factory, for instance? We have fine intellectuals, but we're going to get a brian drain from the institutes. Everything has to be modelled, calculated, and projected. This is why we have to have an economic state of emergency, discipline, and proper planning, he states. Proper priorities have to be set.

Further on privatization, Rutskoy says we musn't create a mafia state by allowing black market money to buy up property.

Rutskoy Adviser Views Conflict With Yeltsin

AU1502183992 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 12 Feb 92 p 3

[Telephone interview with Vladimir Belanskiy, adviser to Russian Vice President Rutskoy, by Szerdahelyi in Moscow; date not given: "We Already Have a State of Emergency—Is Aleksandr Rutskoy Aspiring to Yeltsin's Throne?"]

[Text] As was expected, as a result of the fast deterioration of the economy, Boris Yeltsin's Russia (and probably the other members of the Commonwealth of Independent States) also has to face an internal opposition. The strange irony is that Aleksandr Rutskoy, who was appointed to be vice president by Yeltsin after the August 1991 coup attempt, is one of those who criticizes Yeltsin most seriously. Can we expect Yeltsin and Rutskoy to break with each other? This was one of my questions to Vladimir Belanskiy.

[Belanskiy] Rutskoy has come very close to turning against Yeltsin by also taking radical steps. At the same time, the view coming from abroad according to which the vice president only wants to use the weapons of demagogy is false. However, it is true that he is urging fast and irreversible changes. He wants an expert group, rather than extremist parties or groups, to implement these.

[Szerdahelyi] Speaking of demagogy, is it demagogy that Rutskoy suggested reducing the pay of civil servants to the minimum wage to, as it were, make them feel directly how people live?

[Belanskiy] We currently have an expert working group consisting of economists, bankers, and entrepreneurs, which is to pinpoint the weak areas of Russia's economic program and which will make new proposals. Considering this, the ideas you mentioned are only a drop in the ocean.

[Szerdahelyi] In other words, is it a clear propaganda trick?

[Belanskiy] You might even call it that. Although, it is more than that. Apparatchiks played a considerable role in the destruction of the Soviet Union, and many signs point to the fact that officials and bureaucrats still do not want changes. However, as I said, this is only one element, and the complete program will probably be ready by the end of the month.

[Szerdahelyi] What will happen to it?

[Belanskiy] Hopefully, after the expert committees of the Russian Government and parliament discuss it, the Russian Parliament will also discuss it.

[Szerdahelyi] Will this be the time when Yeltsin and Rutskoy might break with each other?

[Belanskiy] It is impossible to forecast it this way. However, it is a fact that there are great debates on economic issues now. Previously, Yeltsin asked for an irrationally long grace period, but now Rutskoy says that an economic state of emergency should be declared for one year. To be more precise, we should not delay announcing it because, whether we like it or not, there is already a state of emergency in Russia. One thing that directly affects the population is that prices were freed without anything standing behind this action. People are dissatisfied and express their impatience en masse now.

[Szerdahelyi] Do you think that declaring a state of emergency might further increase the tension?

[Belanskiy] No. This country needs direct talk at last! Politicians need to admit that a very hard period is coming but they also have to draw up a precise way out. This does not mean the distribution of foreign aid parcels. However, it appears to me that Yeltsin himself is not able to do much more either.

Air Traffic Controllers To Strike 21 Feb

LD1402152392 Moscow TASS in English 1428 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pavel Ryabov]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—All major Russian air traffic control centers are ready to participate in a republican air traffic controllers' strike scheduled for February 21, president of the Air Traffic Controllers' Trade Union Federation Sergey Yevsyukov told ITAR-TASS today.

If the Russian Government and the Civil Aviation Department do not satisfy the demands of the federation and the strike is held, air traffic above Russia will be completely paralyzed. According to preliminary estimates of experts from the Russian Civil Aviation Department, the daily losses will amount to 22 million roubles.

In the words of Yevsyukov, all major demands of the federation can be fulfilled. The department is already negotiating with the federation on some of them.

However, the government has made no comments on the main demand of the trade unions—to create a state committee on the use of air space and air traffic control under the Russian Government head.

The federation president is sure the committee, to unite both civil and military air traffic controllers, would help ensure the safety of all flights.

Problems Cited

OW1502173792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1627 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On the initiative of the Union of Air-Traffic Controllers, at midnight, February 20, all of Russia's air-traffic control services will suspend work for 24 hours. The strikers may be joined by colleagues in the Ukraine and Belarus. The airliners which will find themselves in the air, including those making international flights, will be guided to the nearest airports, Sergey Yevsyukov, President of the Union of Russian Air-Traffic Controllers, told IF [INTERFAX].

Sergey Yevsyukov said that the strike was caused by the plight of the personnel. Cuts in allocations may render 20 percent of them jobless, while the wear of the equipment may bring air communication to a halt in a five months' time.

Another problem is that the air traffic is currently run by civil and military controllers. (Civil personnel exercise control over 70 percent of the air traffic). However, the Defence Ministry can close any air corridor, at any time it chooses, to give way to military aircraft.

The trade union believes that the problem could be solved if state commissions for air communication and traffic control were set up in Russia and the Ukraine, and if it took charge of all of the traffic-control services.

Minister Appeals to Controllers

LD1402225492 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Today we received a copy of an appeal issued by the Russian Federation's transport minister to the heads of civil aviation directorates, associations, concerns, and companies. The situation in civil aviation is extremely tense, the minister writes. The Russian Government is taking all sorts of measures and seeking ways of allocating additional funds from the budget in order to solve the problem of supplying the industry with aviation equipment, spare parts, and assets on a level with 1991. In this difficult situation the president of the Federation of Russian Air Traffic Controller Unions has sent the Ministry of Transport and the president of the Russian Federation a letter setting out plans for a strike by air traffic controllers on 21 February. Trade union leaders are stepping up their demands of the government, which it cannot meet in full. I regard the holding of a strike as intolerable, the minister writes. All problems must be solved in other ways, civilized ways, in accordance with existing legislation.

Democratic Reform Movement Holds Congress 15 Feb

Popov Previews Congress

LD1402230192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1636 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Evald Kessariyskiy]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod, 14 Feb (TASS)—Following the events of last August (the coup in the former USSR), the regrouping of democratic forces is now under way, Gavriil Popov, cochairman of the Democratic Reform Movement, said today. He held a news conference in Nizhniy Novgorod before the opening of the constituent congress of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement, which is scheduled for tomorrow. According to him, the congress is to formulate the position of the movement on various issues and to work out its platform. He said its main task is to build a new society through persistent

production with a deliberate emphasis on and encouragement of entrepreneurship.

Agenda Viewed

LD1502153392 Moscow TASS in English 1424 GMT 15 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Evald Kessariiskiy]

[Text] Nizhny Novgorod February 15 TASS—A constituent congress of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms opened here today. The agenda includes organisational matters: the founding of Russia's democratic reform movement, of which entrepreneurs are the main social basis, the adoption of a charter and a programmatic statement, and the election of leading bodies.

A political report at the Congress has been delivered by Gavriil Popov, the mayor of Moscow and a co-chairman of the Democratic Reform Movement of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Popov Outlines Tasks

LD1702231692 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1814 GMT 17 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] The main task of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement is to reflect the interests of businessmen, Gavriil Popov announced.

Speaking on February 15 in Nizhniy Novgorod at the constituent congress of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement, its chairman Popov said: The regrouping of all political forces is necessary now, because the old system has been destroyed, and democrats have already demonstrated their inability to run the country. Popov described businessmen as the nucleus of all constructive forces. Popov urged to hold fresh elections to all bodies of power from top to bottom, because their present composition no longer reflects the correlation of forces in society. Popov said that elected authorities should confine their activities to the law-making sphere and emphatically supported the driving of those authorities from the executive sphere.

According to Popov, a market has not yet been formed in the country, while ony command power is possible, when there is no market. No other mechanism is possible now, but the administrative-command system, no matter who are in office, democrats or conservatives. Popov suggested that direct elections of heads of the local administration should be held in order to create a counterbalance to the strong executive power. If those elected heads of local administration refuse to obey orders, superior authorities should have the right to hold new elections.

The priority measures, aimed at achieving the revival of Russia, should include full liberalization of prices, quick privatization, the implementation of the agrarian reform, the adoption of the state programme of conversion, the maximum curtailment of all expenditures, including at the expense of the social sphere, the overcoming of the state monopolize [as received] and the implementation of a monetary reform, Popov said.

In his opinion, political transformations should include the adoption of a new constitution of Russian Federation. He believes national-socialism poses the most serious threat for the country.

Representative Bodies 'Manipulated'

LD1602182692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 16 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] Gavriil Popov stated at the Congress of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement that at present the power of representative bodies of authority now belongs to a bloc of radical democratic and neobolshevist forces oriented towards populism and social parasitism. This bloc is being manipulated by former communist apparatchiks. Accordingly, the Democratic Reform Movement regards its first task to be the reelection of all representative bodies of authority. [passage omitted: recalling prominent role of movement in opposing CPSU]

Political 'Umbrella' To Be Formed

MK1802124492 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 2

[Tatyana Malkina article: "DRM [Movement for Democratic Reforms]: RDRM [Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms] Formed, DRM Breaks Up. Gavriil Popov Warns Russian Parliament"]

[Text] The constituent congress of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [RDRM] in Nizhniy Novgorod was celebrated as an event worthy of respect. Gavriil Popov's idea was put into effect: The congress effectively set up a "new-type" party that Moscow's mayor said was necessary—at such great length— a year ago and which he heads.

Needless to say, the preparations for setting up the structure so essential to Russians on the basis of the Movement for Democratic Reforms [DRM] did not begin yesterday. The carefully prepared draft RDRM statutes, on which a successful vote was held at the congress, couched in traditional lobbyist-claqueur style were the reason why the Republic Party of Russia walked out of the DRM. The largest faction—the People's Party-"Free Russia"—has not as yet suspended its membership of the DRM, but it has promised to discuss the prevailing situation at a session of its Central Committee. The question of whether the RDRM needs several cochairmen or a single chairman was the last straw in the disagreements. Despite Gavriil Popov's making the need to consolidate Russia's social forces the first

item in his program report and despite Popov's still being convinced that the RDRM is a movement, that is, a coalition of political forces and party factions, Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy's reproach regarding his desire for one-man command did not have the right effect. Gavriil Popov, future chairman of the RDRM, remarked mildly that there are in fact moments when cochairmen are necessary, but there are also times when it is necessary to work...

The question of the fate of the so-called international DRM (throughout the territory of the Commonwealth of Independent States) seems thus to have been decided on the spur of the moment. In his inaugural address RDRM Chairman Gavriil Popov—who is at the same time the coordinator of the international DRM—admitted that, no matter how hard the choice, Russia's interests are still most important and dearest to him.

Only three at most of the seven famous cochairmen are left: Aleksandr Yakovlev and Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy are withdrawing to the Gorbachev Foundation (Shostakovskiy heads the Center for Social Knowledge); Eduard Shevardnadze is working in his own association and hatching plans to return to Georgian politics; Arkadiy Volskiy, who has already withdrawn from effective leadership of the DRM, has now evidently lost all reason for "capital investment" in this movement. Of the remaining three Stanislav Shatalin with his "Reform" Foundation will evidently join the Gorbachev Foundation, and Anatoliy Sobchak, according to rumor, is working vigorously on various prospects for his future political career in state posts.

Thus, clearly when speaking of the DRM (or the RDRM) one must now mean Gavriil Popov—the author and executor. The RDRM—a small, new-type formation "on paper"—pro forma and in actual fact comprises Popov's closest supporters and assistants (and a considerable number of Moscow City Hall staffers have joined the movement's organizational and leadership organs) and a number of incidental democratic people in the localities. "Russian democratic reforms" are evidently designed to be, first, a political "umbrella" for the de facto activity of Moscow's rulers; second, their election trademark; and, third, an officially constituted lobby in representative authorities at all levels.

Gavriil Popov's program statement contains many nontraditional statements for him and is structured in a vanguard way—in the form of a set of mutually exclusive ideas which, moreover, overlap [peresekayutsya] in one respect—their proximity to the interests of a specific type of entrepreneur of which the Moscow Government best fits the description.

The most important idea in Popov's speech concerns the program for transforming all Russian reality based on a years-long cycle of reforms. The approach set out by Popov criticizes the government and contains a number of proposals, ranging from true liberalization, demonopolization, and conversion—with the theme "Who gets the income from this?"—to a "program for cutting back state spending."

An equally important idea—regarding the need to transform Russia's entire political system and system of authority—forms a chain subject to the above logic. One: "We must live in a rule-of-law state" and no considerations of expediency (including economic expediency) cancel that out. Two: "A special, transitional kind of administrative system is needed to dismantle the state-based economy and move to the market..." "Either create a command system or do not curb social development within a normal framework. This is a harsh truth, but it is the truth." Three: "The RDRM's attitude to representative authority is to clearly restrict representative organs' functions to the sphere of law- making and resolutely bar these organs from the executive sphere." Four: "Therefore the RDRM's first slogan calls for the speediest reelection of all representative organs of authority from top to bottom."

It turns out that the last point gels logically with the first. "Our movement must raise the banner of a new Russian Constitution!" Gavriil Popov said. In his opinion, the Russian parliament is deliberately disregarding all constitutional initiatives and for that reason the RDRM will evidently have to start collecting a million signatures in favor of a referendum on the constitution. If in that case the parliament does not show good will, it will have to be "barred from further activity..." Although Gavriil Popov "would not" formulate the overthrow of the current Russian Supreme Soviet as one of the RDRM's aims, he thinks this is one of the most likely prospects and believes that the present Russian Supreme Soviet's similarity to the former USSR Supreme Soviet in its last days is fatal. Gavriil Popov in his role as ideologist for the new law [pravo] will evidently be able to find plenty of supporters outside the RDRM. One of his ideas about Russia's national-state system, for instance, coincides word for word with the fundamental position held by the congress of civil and patriotic forces, which, like Moscow's mayor, realizes the primacy of the rights of the individual over the rights of the nation. In particular, this means, for instance, that three or four autonomous formations where the indigenous population represents more than half of the population must be "left" in Russia ("the peoples are entitled to have their own future"), while the rest must be "abolished."

As for the question of the forbidden combination of state and party posts, Gavriil Popov (who at one time cut short his nominal cochairmanship of "Democratic Russia" saying that he was subject to merciless Russian laws) said that it would be better for Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy to answer this question, evidently thinking that Rutskoy's example is not only a source of inspiration, but also automatically protects his followers from constitutional norms.

Popov Elected Chairman

LD1502195992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1730 GMT 15 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Evald Kessariyskiy]

[Text] Nizhniy Novgorod, 15 February (TASS)—Gavriil Popov, the cochairman of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms and the mayor of Moscow, has been elected the chairman of the Movement of Democratic Reforms at the founding congress of the movement held today in Nizhniy Novgorod. The movement's central board was also elected here.

The Republican Party, having expressed its disagreement with a number of regulations of the congress program documents, has suspended its membership in the Movement of Democratic Reforms. Its chairman, Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, who made a statement on behalf of the party, left the presidium of the congress in protest.

Popov Comments at News Conference

OW1602133192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov was elected President of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR] that held its constituent congress in Nizhny Novgorod on Saturday [15 February]. The congress adopted a package of documents spelling out the targets and work plans of the MDR member parties and organizations across the Russian Federation. G. Popov told a summary news conference that the MDR would concentrate on helping the Russian leadership adhere to its course toward a law-governed state guided by a new Russian Constitution. In reply to a question from IF [INTERFAX], Mr.Popov did not rule out the possibility of using "referendum as a major instrument of pressure on the Supreme Soviet" in what concerned for instance, the Constitution issue.

Republican Party Withdraws

LD1702160892 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 17 ITAR-TASS—The decision to suspend membership in the Russian Democratic Reform Movement was taken by a group of delegates to the constituent congress of the movement from the Republican Party of the Russian Federation, Vyacheslav Shostakovsky, co-chairman of the Russian Democratic Reform Movement told ITAR-TASS.

Shostakovsky said that the congress of the movement held in Nizhny Novgorod on February 15-16 failed to answer if the movement will enter the international organisation of Democratic Reform Movement founded last summer by Eduard Shevardnadze, Aleksandr Yakovlev and a number of other politicians. The group of republican delegates decide to suspend their membership in the new movement until the forthcoming congress of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation decides the matter.

Another reason for the republicans demarch is the way coordinating bodies of the movement are organized. In view of the fact that the movement unites people with different political views, Shostakovsky believes it would be more logical to elect several co-chairmen representing large organisations and political trends.

Shostakovsky, leader of Russian republicans, said: "We are not satisfied with the work of the organising committee preparing the congress. Its work lacked openess. This style was manifested also in the way of conducting the congress and in the report of the chairman of the editing commission on the regulations. He avoided his duty to inform the congress of alternative views and insisted on hiw own wording".

Further on Republican Party

OW1602134892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian Republican Party [RRP] is withdrawing from the Movement for Democratic Reforms [MDR], RRP leader Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy announced in Nizhny Novgorod on Saturday [15 February]. In his brief address to the MDR congress he criticized the movement for "uncertainty about ethnic relations within the Commonwealth" and expressed dissatisfaction with the work style and organizational methods employed by the MDR leadership. "We are withdrawing from the apparat games that can lead us nowhere," Shostakovskiy said.

Investigation of CPSU Funds Abroad Continues

Report on Investigation

LD1702111392

[Editorial Report] Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian at 1800 GMT on 16 February, in its "Itogi" newscast, broadcasts a 9-minute report by correspondent Tatyana Mitkova on progress in the investigation into CPSU Funds transferred in the past.

The report begins with an interview with Sergey Aristov, captioned as head of the investigation group, which is recorded. Aristov says:

"The funds transfered by the CPSU Central Committee in the past are still being kept in the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] republics. About 243 million rubles [R] transfered were to be used by the CPSU republican Central Committees for their commercial

activities. The largest amounts were transfered to Ukraine which received R78 million, Belarus—nearly R40 million, and Kazakhstan—R34 million. We now consider this money lost to us."

Mitkova then says the beginning of CPSU involvement in commercial activities and channelling its funds into private enterprises was brought about by the Politburo decision "On the industrial and economic activities of the party committees and party establishments" of 1990 which was signed by Gorbachev. The document is shown on the screen, dated 11 July 1991.

Mitkova then goes on to interview Aleksey Surkov, captioned as a member of the parliamentary commission, who says:

"[Begin recording] A massive dampening of national funds into commercial structures has started, especially from 1990. This was done secretly, through the documentation marked 'top secret'. [end recording]" He adds that there are fears that this money, which was hidden away in dozens of commercial structures, has by now been converted into foreign currency and transfered abroad.

Mitkova cites U.S. data on CPSU deposits in western banks as something between $15 billion and $50 billion. At least 60 tonnes of gold, 8 tonnes of platinum, 150 tonnes of silver were taken out of the country by the party, she says. A collection of material evidence testifying of the clandestine ways used in the transfer of these funds is shown to the camera. They include false passports, rubber stamps for manufacturing documents of various countries to which the couriers were flying out carrying so-called friendly help, and a number of wigs. Mitkova shows documents which she says are signed by Ivashko and which confirm that many western firms created jointly with the foreign communist parties were actually financed by the Soviet taxpayers. In order to save some of them from bankrupcy, money from the Western credits given to the former USSR was often used.

Aristov complains that despite the government decision on transfering CPSU funds to their legal successors, such as the Ministry of Social Protection and the Ministry of Economy and Finances, the money remains where it is and little is being done about returning it where it should now belong.

The report concludes with Mitkova wondering if the old guard bureaucrats, still secure in their offices in the ministries and departments, are dragging out the process in the hope that the party will return to rule again.

Procurator General Cited

OW1402195492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Apart from the dissolved Soviet Communist Party's accounts in foreign banks, there are unconfirmed reports concerning the Communist Party's real estate holdings abroad, said Russian procurator-general Valentin Stepankov in a Friday [14 February] interview with IF [INTERFAX]. Stepankov added that an investigator team is auditing three sets of documents: the CPSU Central Committee's International Department's; the State Mint's; and the Vnesheconombank's. However, the investigators do not have the hard currency required to conduct an investigation abroad. Even when the procurator general himself went to Switzerland and Italy to inquire into the party money case, he went there on a parliamentary delegation of the Russian Federation.

The procurator general said that Yevgeniy Primakov, the Russian intelligence chief, had promised on February 13 to give all the available materials on the Soviet Communist Party's foreign bank deposits.

Touching on the August 1917 [as received] coup attempt case, Stepankov said that the defendants are familiarizing themselves with the materials of the case. The fast readers among the defendants are Vasiliy Starodubtsev, Yuriy Plekhanov and Tizyakov who have already examined more than 50 volumes of the case, while Valentin Pavlov and Anatoliy Lukyanov have only finished 5 or 6 each. An indictment is being prepared concurrently, and upon its being signed, the procurator will send the case to court. According to Stepankov, the investigating team will want Mikhail Gorbachev among the witnesses, but it is up to the court to decided on the list of witnesses.

The investigation of the coup attempt and other major cases has run into difficulties because of the shortage of funds. Recently the Finance Ministry allocated 4 mn. [million] rubles to the procurator's office, but the sum "is not going to last for long." The CPSU money case will require more time than the coup attempt case, says the procurator general.

Real Estate 'Evidence' Surfaces

LD1502061392 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] There is evidence that in addition to holding accounts in foreign banks, the CPSU also has real estate abroad. Valentin Stepankov, Russia's prosecutor general, said this in Moscow today in an interview with INTERFAX. He also said that Yevgeniy Primakov has promised to make available all the papers he has in his possession relating to foreign deposits held by the CPSU.

Deposits 'Sheer Fabrications'

LD1702113192 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By unidentified ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—"Talks about huge CPSU deposits in foreign banks are sheer fabrications pursuing definite unseemly goals," ex-Prime Minister of the USSR Valentin Pavlov said in an interview with the weekly "KOMMERSANT" published here today.

Pavlov is now in custody at the Moscow "Matrosskaya Tishina" jail. He was arrested last August for participation in the state of emergency committee. The ex-premier was a member of this committee, which tried to stage a coup d'etat in the country in August 1991.

Expounding on the programme of reforms, drawn up under the direction of Russian Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar, and on the prospects of the current Russian Government, Pavlov said that Gaydar "was taking upon himself the mistakes of others." "As soon as the majority of the people identify them with his name, Gaydar will be removed," he said. "The moor will have done his duty. I think he knows it."

Describing the programme of economic reforms, elaborated under his own direction last year, he stressed that its main purpose was to "ensure an accelerated modernisation of the production potential on the basis of the latest technology and to develop the production and social infrastructure."

Pavlov believes the "principal way" to pull the Russian economy out of the crisis is to attract "investments and stimulate them by all possible means."

Speaking about his future, Pavlov noted that it was too early for him to go on pension, both from the physical and legal points of view. "I intend to work. Life will show where and in what capacity," he said.

The weekly reports that the a list of 22 questions was forwarded to the ex-premier through his wife and lawyer.

Intelligence To Assist

LD1602061792 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Text] We have just received a report from the CRIME-PRESS agency. Russian intelligence is ready to submit all the data it has on the so-called case of the CPSU's money. Tatyana Samolis, press secretary for the director of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, stated that Russian Procurator General Stepankov, Deputy Procurator General Lisov, and Aistov, head of the investigative group, met the leadership of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service today at the headquarters of this department in Yasenevo.

In the course of a detailed conversation, questions concerning the investigation of the case of the CPSU's money were discussed. According to Tatyana Samolis, procuracy officials will be given all the facts on this case that are at the disposal of the intelligence service. A special Foreign Intelligence Service commission has been set up to assist the work of the procuracy investigative group.

Yeltsin Press Secretary Voshchanov Resigns

OW1702153692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1333 GMT 17 Feb 92

[transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service of the Russian president has officially confirmed that Pavel Voshchanov resigned as Boris Yeltsin's press secretary, explaining his move by a desire "to return to journalistic work." The service resolutely dismissed allegations that Voshchanov's resignation stemmed from his political differences with the Russian leadership.

No one has so far been nominated for the vacancy.

According to IF's [INTERFAX] sources, Mr. Voshchanov tendered his resignation during his private trip to Hungary. As early as last week, however, he had been heard telling his colleagues he would leave the post of presidential press spokesman.

Voshchanov has never broken off his ties with the youth daily KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, and intends to continue writing political surveys for it.

Well informed sources say a short while ago Pavel Voshchanov abandoned also his public (unpaid) post of member of the ruling board of the Russian Information Agency (RIA).

Government Department Appointments Confirmed

PM1402115992 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Appointments"]

[Text] The following have been confirmed as members of the Russian Federation Ministry of Defense Collegium by an ordinance of the Russian Federation Government: Rafael Gumerovich Kalimulin, Vladimir Grigoryevich Kulakov, Viktor Grigoryevich Mironov, Viktor Fedorovich Moshkov, Vitaliy Vladimirovich Pirozhnyak, Valeriy Georgiyevich Rak-Rachek, Valeriy Aleksandrovich Timofeyev, Valeriy Mikhailovich Tretyakov.

By an ordinance of the Russian Federation Government Vladimir Petrovich Bogdanov and Yevgeniy Arsentyevich Malov have been appointed deputy chairmen of the State Commission for Supervision of Safe Working Practices in Industry and for Mine Supervision under the Russian Federation president.

By an ordinance of the Russian Federation Government Viktor Ivanovich Blinnikov has been appointed first deputy chairman of the Committee for Patents and Trademarks under the Russian Federation Ministry of Science, Higher Education, and Technical Policy.

Press Decree To Be Signed in 'Forthcoming Days'

LD1502154192 Moscow TASS in English 1453 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 15 TASS—The press of Russia and other member states of the Commonwealth has found itself in a critical situation because of the diktat of monopolists, primarily paper producers and communication services, say editors-in-chief of the largest newspapers and heads of the confederation of journalist unions.

They pointed out at their meeting on Friday [15 February] that the critical moment can come in several days. Editorial offices have already received warnings of their publishers that they stop printing newspapers early in March because of an acute money shortage. Participants in the meeting agreed to take joint coordinated action for protecting both readers and journalists.

Mikhail Poltoranin, Russian minister of the press and mass media, told the meeting that President Yeltsin is determined to keep his word, given at the recent meeting with editors-in-chief of major newspapers. A draft decree on urgent measures to save the press has been prepared and is expected to be signed in the forthcoming days.

Paper Cites Closure Threat, Appeals to Readers

PM1402180992 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 15 Feb 92 p 1

[Letter from SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editorial Collegium: "To Our Readers. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Readers and Journalists Have Been Warned: The Newspaper May Stop Publishing Within Two Weeks"]

[Text] And so, another attempt has been made to take the newspaper away from its readers. This time it is for an economic reason. Here it is: "As of 1 February 1992, a total of 20,995,200 rubles [R] worth of subscriptions have been received. Expenditure in the first quarter in connection with the issue of the newspaper has been R36,197,800. Thus we have enough subscriptions for the publication of 40 issues."

This edition is the 32d. It is not hard to calculate how many more times the newspaper will publish.

It has persistently been impressed upon all of us that, apparently, there is nothing to be done about it; such are the laws of the market. If there is anyone who still does not understand these "laws," then let them inform themselves at school textbook level.

Last year you, esteemed readers, bought a commodity—an annual supply of the newspaper—at the established prices. But something happened, something that is possibly worse than a natural disaster (you can insure yourself against that)—prices have been freed, and these prices are doing whatever they want. **Government economists are convinced that it is now not only permissible but even natural to take away your purchase from you. Or offer it to you again at a price that is dozens of times higher.** This is "liberalization" if you please.

The most open of the Russian Government leaders are stating: **A change of sociopolitical system is under way.** The new phase in perestroyka is characterized by throwing off the pseudosocialist masks, screens, and other accoutrements woven from the ornate thread of insidious eloquence. **The overwhelming majority of people are consequently being cruelly robbed of the guaranteed constitutional rights to labor, housing, education, health protection, leisure, and personal safety...**

The total destitution could not fail to affect part of man's spiritual nourishment—newspapers and periodicals. Many of them are in the same position as SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. The publications that are maintained on subsidies worth many millions from the budget, or more precisely, that are financed selectively and with bias by the government through the taxpayer, are continuing to live in peace. It will soon become perfectly clear who is who and who is serving whom.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA is your—the people's—newspaper. You can judge that this is so purely on the basis of the enormous deluge of readers' letters we receive—many of which are published on our pages in every issue. And today too you can see who is the newspaper's main author. **Attempts to take action against it are attempts to rob you of your voice on the high public rostrum.**

So of course we appeal first and foremost to you, our readers. We thank you for your constant moral support and material assistance; they instill hope in us and we need them as much as the shoulder of a faithful friend.

Today is a critical time. All of our efforts to save the national newspaper must be intensified many times over. We are waiting for advice and proposals. Assess the situation in a sober way and suggest a way out of the disastrous impasse. Together we will do everything lawful within our powers to prevent the newspaper having to say its projected good-bye to the readers.

[Signed] SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Editorial Collegium

Security Arrests Group for Passing Secrets

LD1502125892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1142 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 15 Feb [ITAR-TASS]—Staff at the Ministry of Security of the Russian Federation have uncovered a group of citizens who in 1991 actively gathered secret information and passed it to a foreign state. The information included information directly related to key matters to do with the maintenance of security. One of those arrested in the case had access to the information by virtue of his professional duties. This was reported by the public relations center of the Russian Federation's Ministry of Security.

Supreme Soviet

Deputies Urged To Focus on New Constitution

OW1702174192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Sergey Filatov, first deputy speaker of the Russian parliament, told a Moscow news conference on Monday [17 February] that the Supreme Soviet was drafting a resolution to restrict the emergency powers granted to the president—notably, his right to independent government formation. He explained it by the fact that pro-democracy deputies had been moving to executive bodies on an increasingly large scale, threatening to bring about a situation whereby parliament would be unable to pass important decisions because of lack of democratic votes.

According to Filatov, the Congress of People's Deputies of Russia opening on April 6 should focus on the new draft Constitutions since "the old Constitution, the major brake on reforms, is too wrong to be amended." The deputy speaker expressed confidence that it would be possible by that time to reach accord with the various republics within the Russian Federation on Article 4 of the new draft (the country's national-territorial structure). He said discussion was fully under way over the division of powers between the federal and republican governments, and that the appropriate document would be backed by a set of inter-republican economic cooperation agreements.

Commenting on the Crimea problem, Filatov said the Supreme Soviet would issue a special document expressing its attitude to the 1954 resolution transferring the Crimean peninsula to Ukrainian jurisdiction. He stressed the point that the dispute could only be settled by the concerted efforts of Russia and Ukraine.

Parliament Plans To Curb Presidential Powers

LD1702163992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is preparing a document on limiting the additional powers granted to the president for forming government independently, Sergey Filatov, first deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, said at a news conference in Moscow today. He clarified that such a step has been dictated by the fact that an ever increasing number of democratically-orientated deputies are moving to the executive structures of power. A situation may arise when during solving important issues the parliament will be short of votes by democratically-orientated deputies.

Presidium Issues Rulings 17 Feb

OW1702201492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Monday [17 February] the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a number of rulings. IF's [INTERFAX's] parliamentary correspondent reports that the first ruling complies with the Russian president's request on the establishment of an Azov German national district in Omsk region.

Vice-premier Shakhray told the presidium that 134,000 Germans were living in the Omsk region.

The Germans in the Azov region, who account for around 60% of the district's population, spoke in favor of the formation of a national district at an assembly. The decision was backed by a session of the Omsk regional council.

The Supreme Soviet Presidium requested the Tomsk Executive Committee to repeal its January 17 ruling suspending the 1992 regional privatization program. The Tomsk regional council decided to go to the Russian Constitutional Court to obtain an opinion on the constitutionality of the privatization program. The presidium ruled that in case the executive council refuses to repeal its decision, a joint sitting of the Russian parliament's chambers would address the issue on February 21.

Another ruling renames the Soviet airline Aeroflot. Its new name is the Airline Russia.

Shaposhnikov Cited on Armed Forces Role

LD1802102192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0939 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)—"Armed forces should be used to defend the state against an outside attack, and not against their own people. It is precisely from these positions that the reformation of the armed forces proceeds." This statement was made by Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the unified Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, who was speaking today at the parliamentary hearings on the role played by the leadership of the former USSR Ministry of Defense in preparing and staging the putsch last August.

The marshal said that draft legislative acts envisaging a ban on the use of the armed forces to resolve internal political problems has been submitted to the Russian president for examination.

Analyzing the results of the August events, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stressed that the main result is that "the Army did not act against its people".

Defense Conversion Needs $150 Billion

LD1802103492 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Needed to convert Russia's war industry to a civil production are $150 billion. This came in a statement of the Russian state adviser Mikhail Maley, who addressed parliament with a draft bill on conversion. He said the government had no need for that and suggested to auction off all enterprises and attract free money from stock exchanges. The document was passed in the first reading. Within a month it is to be elaborated and submitted for a final approval.

Regional Affairs

Progression of Komi Oil Workers Strike Viewed

Supply Termination Threatened

LD1402172192 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Pyotr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—The termination of oil and gas supplies planned this night by the Komineft association may lead to unpredictable consequences.

The association demands that the Russian Government keep its promises on the delivery of material and technical resources and consumer goods, as well as on the establishment of free prices on oil and gas.

Even if the volume of extracted oil is reduced to the minimum norms of wells' development, the losses will be enormous, head of the central dispatcher department of the Rosneftegaz corporation Aleksandr Kochnev told ITAR-TASS. In case wells are halted, the losses will be much more, since the restoration of their functioning will cost millions of roubles.

According to the information of Rosneftegaz, 20,000 tonnes of oil come daily from the Komi Republic to Russian oil-processing plants. The reduction of this amount by at least 5,000 tonnes threatens with the plants' halt. This will primarily tell on agriculture, as combustibles and lubricants are now being accumulated for the spring sowing.

Supply To Be Cut Off 15 Feb

LD1402222192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] A sensational piece of news from Syktyvkar. Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, correspondent of Russian Television and Radio Company, has reported specially for first channel news. In a matter of minutes—at 0000 hours on 15 February—the Komineft association will cut off oil deliveries to all consumers from the Commonwealth countries, including Russia, incidentally.

Moreover, the wells are not simply ceasing extraction, but are being mothballed. This means a risk not only of serious economic difficulties for the Commonwealth and Russia, but also a major ecological catastrophe. A strike is an extreme measure for the oilworkers to exert pressure on the Russian Government. Beside decreasing the level of oil extraction for the state order, Komineft is demanding an extension of the deregulation of prices to oil as well. We await the government reaction.

Workers Begin Strike

LD1502224792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Summary] Komi oil workers began a strike at 0001 today. As of 1915, 95 wells were idle. More than 1,000 tonnes of oil have been lost. All drilling work has stopped in the republic. The Russian authorities were warned about this in January.

The workers demand that the excessive state order be cut by 1 million tonnes, that they be able to dispose of some of their output at free prices, and that fixed oil prices be tripled, at least. One tonne of oil now costs 350 rubles, while one tonne of mineral water costs twice as much. The Russian authorities have complied with only one demand: The state order was cut. [video shows oil installations]

Demand Government Action

LD1602183992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 16 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Usinsk (Komi SSR), 16 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—A meeting between Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and oil workers in January defined ways and means of resolving their problems. The Russian Government and its Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering, however, have still not started carrying out the promises which were made during that meeting.

A telegram from Viktor Otta, chairman of the Committee for the Oil Industry at the Russian Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering, arrived at Komineft from Moscow on the afternoon 15 February. It says that a package of documents resolving a significant proportion of the oilmen's problems has been prepared for signing by the Russian Federation's president. Members of this committee and Ministry people are prepared to meet a delegation from Komi SSR to discuss the rest of their demands. The telegram also appeals to the oilmen not to stop extracting oil and gas and to restore normal exploitation of the wells which have been stopped.

A conference of representatives of the strike committee and the trade union of Komi SSR oil workers, as well as of the Komineft association, was held to discuss this as a matter of urgency. It assessed the telegram as an attempt

by the ministry and the government to off-load responsibility for its own inaction onto the Russian president and expressed indignation at such actions. Nonetheless, it was decided for the time being to suspend any further reduction in the volume of extraction and supply to oil consumers.

Komineft General Director Valentin Leonidov today told ITAR-TASS that the oilmen's strike committee has decided that if on 17 February there is no real progress in resolving the problems and meeting the oilmen's demands, they will continue to reduce the volume of extraction and supply of hydrocarbonous raw material at midnight. In this event, the stoppage of another 100 wells in the northern deposits on 18 February is proposed.

The oilmen think that if their demands are not met, they will simply be unable to survive, given the current boundless increase in the price of virtually everything. They intend to fight to see that they are met even if they have to resort to extreme measures, including a complete stoppage of oil extraction and supply.

Strikes 'Frozen' Until 17 Feb

LD1602121592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1036 GMT 16 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Moscow, 16 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Komineft association workers have "frozen" any further stoppages at oil wells until 17 February.

The collective has been on strike for more than 36 hours. It stopped work at 96 wells. ITAR-TASS was told at the central control directorate of the oil and gas industry that more than 3,500 tonnes of oil has been lost per day, roughly 10 percent of the association's total daily oil production.

Informed sources report that negotiations with representatives of the strike committee are being conducted by Vladimir Lopukhin, Russian fuel and energy minister. The Komineft workers' demands include seven points. The principal ones are: freeing prices for energy carriers, tax allowances for enterprises in far northern regions, and supplies of material and technical resources and consumer goods.

Other Sectors Plan Strikes

LD1702163892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russia 0600 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] On Sunday [16 February] Komi oilmen suspended their strike. However, social tension in the Republic has not abated. Yevgeniy Kuznetsov, our correspondent in Syktyvkar, has the details:

[Kuznetsov] Agreement on a temporary suspension of the strike was reached on 16 February. Intensive talks began with the Russian authorities. Meanwhile railwaymen, truck drivers, and municipal service employees in Vorkuta intend to strike on Monday, 17 February. Teachers in the Arctic town stopped their educational work as long ago as 22 January. Reports of intended strikes are coming in from virtually all parts of far-flung Komi.

According to some economists, one does not need to be a global prophet to foresee that the so-called middle class of society will be bankrupt by April. Withdrawals from savings banks in Komi, for instance, are almost four times higher than they were before January. All stocks of food, including so-called humanitarian aid, could be exhausted by May.

Nevertheless, it is not at the domestic level that the greatest danger lies in store for us. For the first time since the revolution the Russian Government has decided to give priority to fuel and energy industries rather than the military industrial complex, but in spite of this it has done absolutely nothing to emancipate them from price restraints. According to economists, the government has deregulated virtually everything else, but retained completely fixed prices for fuels like oil, gas, and coal. What is more, it is not allowing enterprises to market even a part of their own output. These are in fact the main reasons for the strike which Komi oilmen suspended on Sunday. At the moment average pay levels in Komi are 27-30 percent lower than in the central oblasts or the capital of the new Russia.

There are many questions and they need to be sorted out as quickly as possible. After all it is obvious that 15 February, the day in the religious calendar when winter gives way to spring, marked a dangerous Rubicon. Strikes began in a raw materials industry which is crucial to the economy. It is apparent from everything we see that the present Russian leadership has no policy capable of keeping it one step ahead of events.

Oilmen Issue Ultimatum

LD1702164992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1535 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar, 17 Feb (TASS)—Komi oilmen have issued an ultimatum to Russia's government and the Ministry of Fuel and Power Industry. Unless there is real progress on meeting their demands by midnight on 17 February, work forces of the "Komineft" association will resume the strike which they suspended on 16 February and another 100 wells will cease operation.

As reported earlier, without waiting for the fulfillment of the promises given at the oilmen's January meeting with President Boris Yeltsin and Russian government leaders, "Komineft" enterprises began on 15 February to reduce production and delivery to consumers of carbon raw material. They closed 96 wells.

On the same day a telegram came from the ministry saying that a number of documents had been prepared for signature by Boris Yeltsin. This disposes of some of the workers' problems; the leaders of the ministry were willing to meet oilmen's representatives to discuss the rest.

An emergency meeting of representatives of the oilmen's leadership, trade union and strike committee saw the telegram as an attempt by the government and ministry to shift responsibility for their inaction onto the Russian president. Nonetheless, they decided to halt the strike unitl midnight on 17 February.

A delegation of Komi oilmen has already been waiting several days in Moscow for a meeting with Fuel and Power Industry Minister Vladimir Lopukhin and the Russian government.

Oilmen Resume Work

LD1802091592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0815 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)—A considerable proportion of the demands put forward by oilmen of the "Komineft" association will be satisfied. This emerged after a meeting between the oilmen's conciliation commission and Vladimir Lopukhin, the minister for the industry.

A package of documents which has been prepared for signing by the Russian president and Government envisages changing oil and gas prices, improving material and technical supply, pay rises, and also several other privileges for people working in the difficult conditions of the North.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent has been told at the ministry that work has restarted at oilwells belonging to the "Komineft" association which had earlier been stopped. [passage omitted]

Komi Republic Claims Mineral Resources

LD1802091692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 15 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] A routine session of the Supreme Soviet of the Komi Soviet Socialist Republic has ended. In three days of debates they managed to pass only one law, the law on minerals. In accordance with this law, the republic's mineral resources have been declared its exclusive property.

The law on languages was passed in its first reading. Komi and Russian have been acknowledged as state languages. The passage of other very important legislative drafts was blocked by the absence of mechanisms to delineate the property and powers of Russia and Komi. [passage omitted]

Congress of Democratic Forces Held 15 Feb

Agenda Outlined

OW1402204692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1859 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The consultative council of the Congress of Democratic Forces of republics and national-territorial units entering the Russian Federation will start a meeting in Kazan February 15. The agenda of the meeting includes the following items:

1. Situation in the republics, development of their sovereignty.

2. Position in relation to an agreement on separation of powers of republics within the Russian Federation.

3. Implementation of radical economic reform in the republics and national-territorial units.

4. Ways to strengthen cooperation between democratic and national-democratic forces.

Former Autonomous Entities Discussed

LD1602164392 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 15 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolai Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan February 15 TASS—The state of affairs in the former autonomous entities in Russia, the development of their sovereignty and the delimitation of powers within the federation, the strengthening of democratic and national-democratic forces as well as the course of the economic reform are under discussion at a congress of the democratic forces of republics and national-territorial entities in Russia.

The congress, which opened in the capital of Tatarstan today, is being attended by three delegates from each of democratic organisations from more than 30 regions of the federation.

Before coming to the forum, participants had to get through pickets posted by local nationalist forces at the airport and railway terminal in protest at the holding of such a congress in Kazan.

Decentralized Power Urged

OW1602175492 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1623 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The congress of democratic forces from various republics and other territorial entities within the Russian Federation, held in Kazan on Saturday [15 February], called for signing without delay an agreement separating the powers of the different subjects of the federation. It adopted a resolution saying that "further procrastination

may undermine the current reforms and lead to the triumph of national-socialist, revanchist groups that already today ignore the rights of the individual."

The congress attracted 32 delegates from Udmurtiya, Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, the Komi-Perm district and Moscow.

The congress issued a statement expressing concern over the holding of nationalist conventions in a number of republics within the Russian Federation. In supporting every ethnic group's desire for ethnic rebirth, the authors warned against forming alternative anti-constitutional bodies of government according to the ethnic principle. They demanded that the law-enforcement bodies resolutely prevent the seizure of power or violation of the rights and freedoms of Russian citizens—wherever such attempts may occur.

A group of delegates barred from the congress by the Tatar nationalists have meanwhile sent the local authorities a note of protest complaining of "acts of physical and psychological pressure" exerted on them with the tacit consent of the local administration. The authors described the activities of the All-Tatarstan Public Center, the SOVEREIGNTY committee and other organizations preventing their participation in the Kazan congress, as a violation of human rights in Tatarstan.

Congress Postponed

LD1602170892 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 15 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolai Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan February 15 TASS—The opening of a congress of Russia's Democratic Organisations, which was planned in the capital of Tatarstan today, is postponed for an indefinite term. Delegates, who arrived from various parts of the Russian Federation, saw that the building of the university was barricaded with logs and mass pickets of the all-Tatar public centre did not allow anyone into the building.

Placards reading "The Congress Will Not Go" and "There is no Place for Pro-Russian Congresses on the Land of Sovereign Tatarstan" were put up everywhere. Police standing nearby is silent and does not interfere.

The congress was to discuss the situation in Russia's former autonomies, the development of their sovereignty, the delineation of powers within the federation, the strengthening of democratic and national-democratic forces as well as progress in the economic reform. Three delegates apiece from democratic organisations in over 30 areas of the federation arrived to attend the congress.

Tatar Nationalists Oppose Congress

OW1602140292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Tatar nationalist forces resist holding a congress of democratic forces from Russia and its constituent autonomous republics in Kazan. A group of delegates met Saturday [15 February] evening at a building in an outlying section of the city after they had failed to enter Kazan University, which was picketed and barricaded. Igor Kharichev, a member of the Russian president's administration, who came to Kazan as an observer, told IF [INTERFAX] that the congress delegates had seen "nationalism in action." According to him, the protest campaign had not been spontaneous. Kharichev said that though small, "the extremist forces are vigorous and aggressive and they have their will." The delegates met with the leaders of the Tatar Public Center at the Hotel Duslik on the same day. The hotel was protected by the police from a big crowd consisting of the activists of the party Ittifak, committee Sovereignty, youth movement Azatlyk and the Islamic Democratic Party. Gabdelbar Faizrakhmanov, one of the leaders, urged the protesters to disperse and asked the delegates not to meet on the territory of sovereign Tatarstan. According to him, "Yeltsin's views and the situation in the Supreme Soviet and Russian government are forcing us to reject the idea that Tatarstan should be given special status and to continue the fight for republican independence through parliamentary means."

Nationalists Accused of Beatings

LD1702134792 Moscow TASS in English 1259 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—The Consultative Council of the Congress of Democratic Forces and National Territorial Autonomies of the Russian Federation has denounced Tatar nationalists who, with the connivance of local authorities, disrupted the council's meeting in Kazan scheduled for February 15- 16 and beat up its participants.

Members of the council representing Bashkortostan, Udmurtia, the Mari Republic, Karachayevo-Cherkessia, Tatarstan, the Komi-Permiak and Yamalo-Nenets national areas said in a statement they conveyed to ITAR-TASS today that the activities of the Tatar Public Centre Committee, Sovereignty Committee and some other organisations are tantamount to gross violation of human rights.

A spokesman for the leadership of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation, a party that was among the

initiators of the creation of the Congress of Democratic Forces, told ITAR-TASS about details of the incident in Kazan.

Early on February 15, delegates to the Consultative Council meeting and guests saw reinforced police units and traffic inspectorate cars patrolling the city. The entrance to the university building in which the meeting was to take place was blocked and a nationalist rally was staged nearby. Participants in the meeting were barred from entering the building.

Members of the Tatar Public Centre and the Sovereignty Committee beat up Mr. Shcherabkov, member of the city council from Bashkortostan until he fainted. Mr. Latypov, a Tatarstan people's deputy, was dragged by his feet 30 meters. Mr. Rakhmatullin, a member of the Consultative Council from Bashkortostan and some representatives of Tatarstan Democratic Forces were beaten up as well.

The battering was witnessed by policemen who did not interfere. Delegates failed to contact the republic's leaders, as their secretaries said all of them were not in Kazan. But later it transpired that the leaders of Tatarstan were in Kazan and were aware of what was happening.

Tatar Communists Set Up Party Organization

LD1702151692 Moscow TASS in English 1331 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Nikolay Sorokin]

[Text] Kazan February 17 TASS—Tataria's communists have created their own party in the republic, the Organisation of Communists of the Republic of Tatarstan.

The party, which has over 300 members, aims to "struggle for social progress and justice, true humanism, and people's well-being and freedom."

St. Petersburg Conference of Leaders Held

Shokhin, Sobchak Attend

LD1502203492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] A conference of heads of republic, kray, and oblast Soviets of People's Deputies is under way in St. Petersburg. Speaking at this conference, Russian Government Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin pointed to the need to establish in the Russian Federation a minimum wage of 550 rubles [R] and also to establish at the same time compensatory payments of R200 per month for pensioners and citizens of the Russian Federation on a low income. According to government calculations, the sum of R550 is what is required today to guarantee the minimum physical requirements of the individual.

Speaking at the same forum, Anatoliy Sobchak, the mayor of St. Petersburg, advocated adjustment of the economic reform in Russia. Noting that there is a need for a change in the taxation mechanism and for a review of the agrarian reforms, he pointed out that alarming processes are currently being set in motion that could lead to an economic crash. In particular, over 90 percent of the population has a very low standard of living.

The essence of the adjustments proposed by the St. Petersburg mayor is that in the conditions of price liberalization, the regulating role of the state must grow. He believes that the current relations between the Commonwealth of Independent States could also ruin the reform.

Khasbulatov, Deputies Meet

LD1502120192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, has expressed concern over the creation of a gigantic bureaucratic apparatus that perverts the president's decrees. He declared this today in St. Petersburg at a meeting of the leaders of soviets of people's deputies of all levels and the heads of the republic's local administrations. Khasbulatov regards as extremely dangerous the tendency to appoint people to senior posts not according to their professional qualities, but out of considerations of personal loyalty.

Khasbulatov Urges 'Adjustments'

LD1502211292 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow February 15 ITAR-TASS—Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is paying a working visit to St. Petersburg, met heads of local government bodies and answered their questions. According to Khasbulatov, the fate of the former Soviet Union will not befall the Russian Federation.

Khasbulatov thinks an exceptionally serious situation has formed in the Russian Federation, first and foremost, due to the rapid worsening of the people's socio-economic status. Their position may deteriorate even more if the republic faces the consequences of the worst variant for the federation. Calls for setting up a Far Eastern republic and debates around the Siberian agreement may serve as an example of centrifugal tendencies typical not only for some autonomies but also regions.

It is necessary that mistakes committed in the initial period be avoided at the next stage of the economic reform, Khasbulatov said. To this end, it is planned to make adjustments to regulatory enactments. If the government does not work smoothly and vigorously, it is hardly to hold out after the Congress of People's Deputies, which is scheduled to take place in April. [sentence as received]

Asked if representatives of President Boris Yeltsin are needed in regions, Khasbulatov noted he would not like to express his own point of view and preferred to hear

what residents of these regions think themselves. His personal impression from visits to some areas of the Russian Federation is that representatives of the president and administration chiefs do not always find a common tongue.

Khasbulatov was also asked why in criticising the government he skirted its head. "Firstly, because of the sense of honour and conscience towards the man who nominated me to the post of the parliament's chief. Another point is no less important: The equilibrium, although delicate, that exists in society is based exactly on the high authority of the president and parliament. If they begin to shake loose this interaction by mutual reproaches, all will collapse," Khasbulatov said.

"I think the president should be protected, including against the government and its mistakes. But if parliament ceases to fulfill its obligations regarding the criticism of the government's erroneous steps, this will simply signal its demise," Khasbulatov stressed.

Khasbulatov Comments on Gaydar

OW1602133692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, head of the Russian Supreme Soviet, has called for putting the appointment of ministers back under parliamentary control. He was meeting with heads of local Soviets in St. Petersburg on Saturday [15 February] and said the loss of such control had resulted in the fact that many government officials had been appointed on the basis of "personal sympathies", rather than professional competence.

At the same time, the speaker refrained "in this very unstable situation" from criticizing the president who, he said, should "get a firm foothold and regard things objectively" thanks to Khasbulatov's criticism of the government.

Explaining to IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent the absence of Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar at the conference in St. Petersburg, Khasbulatov observed that Gaydar "must be fearing he may feel uneasy speaking to knowledgeable specialists". The speaker expressed concern over the vice-premier's "boyish assertions that the economic reform has been progressing as planned," since "six months ago no one was planning society's rapid pauperization."

Commenting on the present situation, Khasbulatov said that "many industrial plants and mining facilities are about to stop. The best labor staffs are already falling apart." He described the ongoing economic reform as "a combination of Chicago School ideas with Ryzhkov-Pavlov reforms."

The head of Russian parliament admitted he was personally responsible for "letting so many unbalanced laws be passed." He stressed, however, that the Supreme Soviet was not demanding the government's resignation; the cabinet, in his view, would get the necessary support if it made a thorough study of the situation and submitted to parliament a set of effective measures to pull the country out of the crisis.

Bomb Disrupts Forum on Islam in St. Petersburg

LD1502181292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] St. Petersburg, 15 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The cathedral mosque of St. Petersburg was rocked by a blast before a solemn prayer service today. Fortunately, there was no damage or loss of life.

The service was being held to mark the opening in the city on the Neva of the international forum "Rebirth of Islam in St. Petersburg." The event is being attended by Moslems from abroad and from the republics of the former USSR, and by emissaries of Russia's other religions. It is being held for the first time on the initiative of the city's Moslem community, whose spiritual and cultural rebirth it is intended to foster.

The organizing committee of the forum stressed that the incident will not stir up enmity between religions and races. A spokesman for the committee, Talgat Salakhov, said it is being seen as no more than an act of hooliganism.

Dudayev Threatens Retaliation for Terrorism

LD1602214192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Etibar Dzhafarov; from the "Itogi" newscast]

[Excerpts] Chechnya is undoubtedly a kind of window through which the instability in Transcaucasia could spread further to the south of Russia. The euphoria over the independence declared there has now been replaced by chaos.

[Begin recording] [Dzhafarov] The president does not hide his peaceful intentions and hopes for a peaceful settlement of the conflict with Russia, but, at the same time, does not miss an opportunity to show an iron fist to any offender.

[Dudayev] I have to make a statement to you. If, by these terrorist means, the Chechen people are thrust into bloodshed, a mechanism is ready. I am not frightened. I have left a legacy—a legacy capable many times over of making them shudder. It would be better to leave us in peace and allow us to take up creative life. People in Moscow will not be left in peace. We will thrust it into just such alarm, just such disquiet, just such confrontation, and we have real levers in our hands.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Discusses Minsk Summit, Crimea

OW1702195792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk said that Minsk CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] summit on February 14 can be graded as "B-" and that "he did not believe the decision by 7 CIS countries to have common armed forces was very promising."

"The reality is that there can be no common military," said he at a Monday [17 February] press-conference in Kiev. According to Kravchuk, the military command will "sooner or later" come to be superior to the political leaders of the independent states.

He expressed assurance that the Crimea would remain part of Ukraine in view of geopolitical and economic factors and the will of the Crimean population that had voted for an independent Ukraine in the December 1, 1991, referendum.

Touching on Ukrainian-Russian relations, Kravchuk said that he had "not heard Boris Yeltsin lay claims to Ukrainian territory"; on the contrary, the Russian president repeatedly spoke in favor of resolving problems on the basis of treaties and agreements. "The Russian Supreme Soviet that has raised the Crimean question is a different matter," said Kravchuk. The Ukrainian president expressed assurance that the Russian democratic forces "would seek a democratic solution through juridical channels to problems in the interests of all peoples."

Kravchuk told the press that during his Minsk meeting with the Russian president they discussed a bilateral agreement on the stabilization of economic ties for 1992. The document is virtually ready to be signed, but it needs slight amendments.

President Demands Yeltsin Return Six Bombers

LD1702175692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1710 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Sergey Balykov]

[Text] Kiev, 17 Feb (TASS)—Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has described the unsanctioned flight of six SU-24m bombers from the Starokonstantinovo military airfield as "a crime against the existing international agreements and Ukraine legislation." In the telegram which Leonid Kravchuk sent to Boris Yeltsin it is said that "the fact of hijacking the combat airplanes and stealing the military flag can result in a whole chain of negative events, from the mass transfer of materiel to banning its use even in extremely necessary cases, which may negatively affect the international evaluation of the processes taking place in the Commonwealth of Independent States." The Ukrainian president has asked the Russian president to give political and legal evaluation to these illegal actions and to take measures to return the culprits, the planes, and the flag.

Russian Stance on Property Division Protested

OW1202155692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1424 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov and Igor Porshnev from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The note on the succession of states that used to make up the Soviet Union presented to the Russian foreign policy establishment by the Ukrainian foreign ministry is no demarche, no hysterics, no expression of protest in a "tough form", said a prominent member of the Ukrainian foreign ministry. Sent to Moscow on January 24, the note reflects the Ukrainian stand that the countries which emerged in the territory of the former USSR are under international law its successors to an equal extent, he pointed out in a telephone interview with DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent.

The Ukrainian foreign ministry official conceded that the note was filed in reaction to statements by Russian officials who, as he put it, claim that Russia is the only successor to the former USSR, its only "continuer". In the meantime this conflicts with international law", the diplomat said.

Its stand signifies by no means that Ukraine disputes Russia's right to take the place that belonged to the former USSR at the U.N. Security Council, he explained.

As for the former USSR's property abroad, the diplomat said, "its an issue whose solution requires coordinated actions and joint decisions". According to him, in this instance no state should act as the only owner of the USSR's property abroad. Kiev cannot agree with such "one-sided" actions. It has always stood for holding negotiations on the issue of dividing all property of the former USSR. "As a matter of fact, such negotiations are in progress, but they have yielded no results so far", the diplomat added.

The Ukrainian foreign ministry official said that, along with other top-priority problems, the issue of dividing the former USSR's property abroad might be discussed at the CIS summit to be held on February 14 in Minsk. The summit will also include bilateral meetings between Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Leonid Kravchuk, as well as between foreign ministers Andrey Kozyrev and Anatoliy Zlenko.

The diplomat deplored the absence of Russia's official reaction to the Ukrainian foreign ministry's note.

When DP's correspondent addressed the Russian foreign ministry, its official said he is puzzled by the stand taken by Ukraine. According to the Russian diplomat, talks with Ukraine on the issue of dividing the former USSR's property abroad are in progress. "All the problems will

be resolved in the framework of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]", he emphasized. For instance, discussions on the level of experts are going on in Minsk. Nevertheless the diplomat isn't sure that this issue will be considered at the summit in Minsk.

As DP learned from sources close to the head of Belarussian government, serious differences have emerged at the consultations on the principles of dividing the former USSR's property abroad held by experts from CIS countries. Russian officials, in particular, suggest that only the property of embassies should be divided. They are trying to prevent the division of a great number of trade, industrial, political and public missions which they intend to use on their own. They motivate their attitude with the fact that a large number of the former Soviet organizations having missions abroad has already been proclaimed Russia's property.

Belarus

Shushkevich Comments on Minsk Summit

LD1602203792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 0730 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Interview with Belarus Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Stanislavovich Shushkevich in Minsk by linkup with correspondent I. Ye. Malashenko at the Ostankino Television and Radio Company studio in Moscow—live]

[Excerpts] [Malashenko] Good day, esteemed viewers. As you know, the leaders of the Commonwealth member states gathered in Minsk on 14 February. Today we have the opportunity to discuss the results of this meeting with Stanislav Stanislovich Shushkevich, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Belarus. Stanislav Stanislavovich, good day! The first question I would like to ask is what is your general evaluation of the results of the Minsk meeting. Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk gave it a mark of four minus [on a scale where five is excellent and four is good]. What mark would you give it, and why?

[Shushkevich] Well, if it is to be classed on the five-point system, I would nevertheless be inclined rather to give it a four plus, and having been a teacher at a higher education institution long ago, I would put it this way: I would give a student a five for an answer of such quality. I evaluate the results of the Minsk meeting very highly, in so far as the predictions that the Commonwealth could fall apart, that issues are being badly tackled in the Commonwealth, did not come true. Furthermore, we began to understand one another better. And what was absolutely unexpected for me—I thought we would be the ones to initiate a whole series of initiatives, initiate the examination of a whole series of issues, but all the others arrived with the same initiative. I evaluate the results of the Minsk meeting very highly indeed.

[Malashenko] Stanislav Stanislavovich, as far as we understand, the intentions for the Minsk meeting was to discuss, first and foremost, problems of the armed forces. There was talk before the start of the summit of signing 14 documents. The number of papers signed is not the point, though it is of course important, but what is significant is the general assessment. In your view, what problems were resolved, what problems remained unresolved, and why?

[Shushkevich] It is absolutely wrong, I think, to evaluate the results of the meeting by the number of documents signed: in all, we signed 17 of them, and 17 documents made up of various parts and giving instructions, at that. So there is a great deal there. So even by your criteria, more documents were signed than was expected. Second, the documents were drawn up in a very individual way. They were in practice drawn up by the General Staff, and they did not accord with the norms and rules which should properly be observed when drawing up documents for consideration by heads of the Commonwealth countries. All the documents, therefore, which experts managed to bring up to an acceptable state, up to a normal state so that one could be comfortable about signing them, all those were signed.

Furthermore, as you know, a series of documents on economic questions were signed. This is a fact which, at the moment, is no less important than the solution of military questions. The number of documents is quite sufficient. The other questions, furthermore, were discussed in conceptual outline. Defense ministers and committee chairmen of the Commonwealth states—it varies from country to country—have been instructed to prepare new documents, but ones which are based on what has already been done. Note this well—there is already a different way of preparing these documents. Therefore, the urgent decisions, which were needed, have been made as far as military questions are concerned. The things which need further thought will be resolved on 20 March.

[Malashenko] Stanislav Stanislavovich, what has actually been decided regarding the armed forces? What fundamentally new decisions were adopted on this occasion in Minsk, and what tasks of primary importance remain to be tackled? Once again I am referring to the future of the armed forces.

[Shushkevich] What was decided? Virtually all questions relating to the strategic armed forces were decided. In other words, the four nuclear states and the nonnuclear states decided how they would participate in the strategic forces, how they would finance them, how they would exercise command over them, how decisions would be made. A document on this subject was adopted, an agreement on the status of strategic forces. I regard this document as being number three.

What else do I regard as extremely important? What has been given legal footing? We decided questions connected with social and legal guarantees for servicemen and persons discharged into the reserve. Our approach to this was identical. It was declared that nobody need worry about his future, irrespective of whether that person finds himself in Kamchatka, Uzbekistan, or Belarus. Generally speaking, this undertaking acquired the force of law. In other words we drew up a single document and a single approach. It was unanimously signed by everyone.

The question of the commander in chief has been settled. I regard this also as being of considerable importance. I draw your attention to the fact that all the issues I am speaking of unanimously were resolved. It does not mean that this is the old mechanism at work, that we all agreed without further ado to everything which was proposed. No, there was wide-ranging debate on all these questions which I have been discussing and which I will discuss. Corrections were made. Wordings were adjusted. Time tables were defined. The length of the transitional process was decided. But, I repeat, all these questions were resolved.

The principles underlying the supply of the armed forces were resolved. This is also an extremely important question, especially now, in this complex period. Once again this question unanimously was dealt with. It covers not just material supplies. It also concerns repairs, experimental design work, research work. This issue was fully, comprehensively resolved.

Unfortunately, the questions I have here combine both economic and military questions. But I will find it in a moment. The status of the Council of Defense Ministers of the Commonwealth states has been defined. The same applies to a whole series of questions relating to the instructions which have been issued as regards things which need to be made ready for 20 March, where defense matters are concerned. We defined the procedures for preparation. Conceptual questions were examined and, effectively, resolved as far as their basic meaning is concerned.

[Malashenko] Stanislav Stanislavovich, one gets the impression that there were two main approaches among the participants in the Minsk meeting regarding the future of the armed forces. The first approach envisages the creation or retention of a single or united armed forces. The second approach is the establishment of separate armed forces by the independent states. How are these two approaches being combined? Second, one gets the impression—I do not know to what extent it is a correct one—that Belarus' own position has undergone certain changes, that it is now closer to the position of Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova, which are insisting on the establishment of independent armed forces. Is this so?

[Shushkevich] First and foremost, I would like to get away from these terms, the suggestion that there were two approaches. There were 11 approaches. Each representative, the representatives of all states, had their own approach, strictly speaking. We were able to bring them together in a whole number of areas. Two main approaches did indeed emerge. In other words, single armed forces—which, as you say, some states regard as being not wholly acceptable, since the Commonwealth of Independent States is a commonwealth not a state. Nevertheless, single armed forces are a possibility for the Commonwealth members. Many felt that single armed forces should be established. You got the right impression as regards who decided what and how. Clearly this conforms with their legislation, with decisions of their parliaments, and so on.

Rumors that Belarus' position has changed are, generally speaking, not correct. They are manifestly exaggerated. The position of the Republic of Belarus has been clearly set out in a decision of the parliament. The Supreme Soviet examined all these questions and decided what armed forces the Republic of Belarus should have. Suggestions that Belarus has changed its mind and no longer wants single forces are evidently based on the fact that Belarus has not yet embarked on the formation of its own armed forces. The documents which had been under study by parliament, by our Belarussian parliament, were not ready for adoption. Nevertheless, they are being prepared, they are being examined. Our doctrine is being drafted. But our constitutional law, the declaration on the state sovereignty of the Republic of Belarus, obliges us to establish our own armed forces. There is no reason to delay this question. This work must be started. We need to proceed from the realities of the present day, when we have single forces, and further develop the negotiating process in such a way that Belarussia has its own armed forces.

What is the justification for this? We have the greatest concentration of servicemen anywhere in the world. For every 43 citizens there is one serviceman on the territory of the Republic of Belarus. No other country in the world, no other country of the Commonwealth, has such a big concentration. Clearly there is no reason for us to hope that somebody else will resolve these questions for us.

The second question. We do not consider any of the servicemen on our territory alien, they are all ours. It is clear, however, that we will not be able to sustain armed forces of such a size. Therefore we must resolve the issue of what awaits the servicemen: who among them wishes to acquire a civilian profession; who among them wishes to serve in the armed forces of other Commonwealth countries. We will resolve these issues fairly and neither the opinions of the servicemen nor their dignity will be encroached upon, neither will the oath which they have sworn be touched. We will find a way to resolve this issue. And first and foremost, we respect servicemen, the members of their families, and those who have gone into the reserve or retired on the territory of the Republic of Belarus. However, we simply cannot have one serviceman to 43 civilians.

[Malashenko] A two-year transition period was mentioned in Minsk when the future of the armed forces was discussed. What is the essence of this period and what will happen to the armed forces in two years time?

[Shushkevich] I would like to explain that if a two-year period is being spoken of, then this is an approximate time. An approximate minimum time period is essential for strategic nuclear forces to be withdrawn from the Republic of Belarus. Whether or not we will be able to keep to this period is, to be honest, problematical. We named the figure of two to three years because Ukraine names the figure of two years. The withdrawal of the strategic forces—both generally in accordance with the international agreements and in accordance with the agreements which the former Soviet Union concluded, and in accordance with the documents which are to be concluded now—should take place with international monitoring and quotas, and certain accords should be observed. The issue of the dismantling and destruction of strategic nuclear weapons must be resolved. It is impossible to do this on Belarussian territory. So we must withdraw as many weapons as Russia is in a position to accept. In other words you see that there is every reason here for a negotiating process and we have

set an approximate time limit—to complete this matter within two years. Simply from the economic point of view, we are not strong enough to guarantee that we will be able to resolve this issue within two years. [passage omitted]

[Malashenko] Stanislav Stanislavovich, if I am not mistaken, you were the first to attest that a previously planned meeting of Presidents Yeltsin and Kravchuk had also been held in Minsk. Could you say a few words about this meeting, about its atmosphere, and what additional steps and decisions were taken there?

[Shushkevich] You know, just replying to a question at the news conference yesterday on why Boris Nikolayevich had not been at the final news conference, I said that apart from joint meetings for everyone, provision had also been made for meetings between individual states. And by the way, we created all the conditions for the Russian delegation and the Ukrainian delegation to work normally. I explained that Boris Nikolayevich had already given many interviews actually in the signing hall, and so clearly he was working on preparing this matter. Following the news conference the day before yesterday, I witnessed a conversation between Boris Nikolayevich and Leonid Makarovich. Perhaps I did the wrong thing in saying that I had witnessed their agreement, that we have resolved all issues in conceptual terms, we are putting the finishing touches to the documents over the next couple of days, and then we are signing them. That is all I said, I cannot say anything about the content, as this is not in my remit, and perhaps I even regret to some extent that I gave out this information. But it is a fact, the cat is out of the bag, and I would like to say I am sure that these documents will be signed, I think they are good documents.

[Malashenko] All those who took part in the Minsk meeting are assessing its results very optimistically. Our press has not decided on its assessments yet, but unfortunately, judging from the reports coming in from abroad, I get the impression that the West, or the press in any case, does not share this optimism. [passage omitted]

[Shushkevich] You know, I think that the meeting gave no grounds for such assessments. But the meeting demonstrated a totally different approach to settling the issues. We have somehow got in the habit, that if there is no unanimous vote—and we have probably even dragged Western journalists along with us—they have got in the habit that if we did not adopt all 14 documents on offer, then we have gone our separate ways. I would like to say that Western journalists should not repeat the mistakes of our journalists. Very many of our journalists—I am not talking about the good journalists—try to give their assessment, very often, of processes on which they have very little information. I cannot see any grounds for such an assessment of the meeting, and I think, rather, on the contrary: the fact that it revealed a whole range of issues on which we do not have a single view, but on which we have agreed to settle all these issues by means of negotiations, that is, we shall seek a solution. Where can you get replies to such complex questions which have never even arisen? They have to be sought, and we shall seek them, and the meeting showed clearly that we shall seek them. But not a single issue that needed to be settled immediately remained unresolved, and I think that in this regard the meeting was simply very good.

[Malashenko] Stanislav Stanislavovich, clearly the question arose at the meeting in one form or another of the future of the whole Commonwealth, how it is going to develop, what the next major steps are that could be taken by the leaders of the states belonging to it. In this context, what should we expect in the coming few months?

[Shushkevich] As regards the coming few months, I would say that we should clearly expect quite new steps in the interaction between the member states of the Commonwealth, and generally with other states which are not members of the Commonwealth. This is happening in the south, it is happening in the European part. But it does not run counter either to the letter or the law of the agreements adopted by the Commonwealth. And, in the long term, I can only give you my opinion. I think that the restoration of some of the principles of economic ties, and adminstrative methods of regulating them—that is the only way I can assess it—these are used in all states with a market economy and in all commonwealths with a market economy. And you cannot say that we are backtracking on the designated principle. It seems to me, what this example shows is that certain integrational tendencies have to be returned to, and certain new ones will probably have to be developed and sought out—this is a fact. That is, we thought that we would protect the states from the export of certain goods, and in the end we in effect came to the conclusion that everyone would only suffer from this. And so, I think that there will be other issues, but I am sure that the integrational tendencies will gain in strength within the framework of the Commonwealth. [passage omitted]

Kebich Describes Problems of CIS Military

OW1302172692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1628 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belarussian Premier Vyacheslav Kebich has described the problem of CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] armed forces as a "stumbling block" for the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Speaking on Thursday [13 February] to a group of officers of the Rogachev army division stationed in Minsk, Kebich noted that army reorganization in Belarus had proceeded less painfully than elsewhere in the Commonwealth, since "some of the other CIS republics cannot afford to maintain the troops stationed on their territories."

The Belarussian stressed the need to reduce military personnel without afflicting the security of the Commonwealth as a whole or of any of its member states. He warned against hasty moves in the elimination of CIS strategic arsenals on Belarussian territory.

Kebich suggested that a serviceman should "take the oath of allegiance only once."

Republic Said Unaware of Military Differences

OW1302180892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1244 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Mikhail Bobrovko, chief of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet's press service, has told IF [INTERFAX] that his republic has not made a single step indicating its disagreement with the concept of united armed forces within the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. He described media reports proving the contrary as false and aimed at "whipping up tensions" on the eve of the CIS summit, due to open in Minsk on Friday [14 February].

The CIS leaders are expected to focus on the Commonwealth's military policy. According to Bobrovko, the military experts preparing the summit "have worked constructively and not displayed any major differences." The expert group involves CIS armed forces commander Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov.

Moldova

Officials Comment on Results of Minsk Summit

Unified Military Opposed

OW1302172192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1628 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Upon arrival in Minsk Moldovan President Mircea Snegur told IF's [INTERFAX] reporter that he would not endorse the formation of unified armed forces under Commonwealth command. He said his republic was negotiating the creation of an army of its own on the basis of military units on its territory. He described his talks with CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Commander-in-Chief Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov as successful, and stressed Moldova's readiness to handle the financial angle of the matter.

As regards the division of the Soviet Union's property, President Snegur hopes property will be divided in proportion to contributions by individual republics and the degree of the republics' participation in the payment of the Soviet Union's foreign debt.

Mircea Snegur favors stronger unity within the CIS, since the latter's collapse would impede the economic advance of the individual republics.

All the Commonwealth leaders, except Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, are expected to arrive in Minsk on Thursday, February 13. Leonid Kravchuk is due to arrive on Friday [14 February].

Snegur on Separate Army

AU1502151392 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] After the Minsk summit of the leaders of the independent countries belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], Mircea Snegur, president of the Republic of Moldova, gave an interview to Chisinau [Kishinev] radio station. In this interview, he commented on the agreements and understandings reached at the Minsk meeting.

President Snegur positively assessed the fact that Moldova's position was taken into account in the decisions and accords signed there. Referring to the military problem, President Snegur said that Moldova's position on the creation of its own army was supported by Ukraine and Azerbaijan. In this respect, several meetings have already taken place with the commanders of military units stationed on Moldovan territory. These commanders have declared themselves ready to accept the decision on the creation of a Moldovan army.

Defense Minister Pleased

OW1802114292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The acting Moldovan Defence Minister, Ion Costas, has said that the Defence Ministry was set up for defending the territorial integrity of his country, not for conducting hostilities. At a Kishinev news conference he voiced satisfaction with the defence agreements of the Minsk summit of the Commonwealth of Independent States and stressed that Moldova's approach to the formation of its own army remains unchanged.

He stressed that the future national army will be professional and its size will be prompted by considerations of reasonable sufficiency. According to preliminary reports, it will have some 30,000 men and its formation will cost 600 mn. [million] roubles.

The minister said that officers doing their army service in Moldovan territory as well as Moldovan citizens who did service elsewhere will form the core of the army.

He feared that the most valuable weaponry and military vehicles are withdrawn from the Republic and pointed to the necessity of stopping the process.

He said that the presence of Cossacks in the Dnestr River valley and the appearance of local armed guards there can have "unforeseeable consequences".

Republic To Take Over Troops

AU1702210592 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] The conventional troops of the former Soviet Army stationed on the territory of the Republic of Moldova will be placed under that republic's jurisdiction as of 1 March, following an agreement signed on 14 February at the meeting in Minsk, Moldovan Minister of Defense Ion Costas said. Likewise, he added, the border troops will also be transferred under his ministry's jurisdiction.

Removal of Military Property Protested

OW1402182092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday [14 February] the Moldovan Defense Ministry protested against the removal of military property from the republic carried out in defiance of the agreement with the Commonwealth Armed Forces' Command to transfer it to the Moldovan national army.

According to the Moldovan Defense Ministry, since June 23, 1990—the republic's Independence Day, 233 tanks, 245 armored infantry vehicles, over 60 self-propelled artillery systems and other hardware have been removed from Moldova. Over the past 4 months 768 trucks, 43,500 fire arms, 38,7 million cartridges to fire arms, 836 anti-tank grenade launchers, 238,000 hand grenades and 37 artillery pieces have been taken out of Moldova.

The note of protest by the Ministry says that it will resolutely stop any attempts to prevent the republic from creating its own armed forces.

Snegur To Attend UN Admission Ceremony

LD1602163892 Moscow TASS in English 1551 GMT 16 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valery Demidetsky]

[Text] Kishinev February 16 TASS—Moldovan President Mircea Snegur left for the United States on Sunday [16 February] to attend the ceremony of Moldova' admission to the United Nations Organisation.

Snegur said his visit aims to speed up the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States and Canada and boost bilateral cooperation with these countries.

He stressed that Moldova needs foreign investments and intellectual assistance to modernise its economy, primarily the processing and electronics industry.

Speaking on the results of the Commonwealth leaders' summit meeting in Minsk, Snegur said its main achievement is that the leaders signed agreements coordinating economic cooperation between enterprises and organisations.

"I'm an optimist and believe it is too early to speak about the Commonwealth's death. Moldova will not be able to find a way out of the present deadlock without strengthening, or at least preserving, ties with Eastern countries," Snegur said.

He disagreed with statements made by the congress of the Moldovan people's front that attempts to build integral and independent Moldova have failed. "Over 90 countries have recognised Moldova as an independent state. It has joined the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and will become a U.N. member," Snegur said.

Popular Front Adopts New Policy Rules

OW1602174292 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1623 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Sunday [16 February] the Moldovan Popular Front's 3rd congress in Kishinev adopted a package of new policy documents.

Under the new rules this public and political movement will henceforth call itself the Christian Democratic Popular Front [CDPF], an amendment signaling the Front's adherence to the principles of democracy and Christianity and refusal to recognize the statehood of the Republic of Moldova. The rules say the Front is a "national liberation movement open to all citizens living to the east and west of the Prut River and sharing the Romanian people's desire for unity and national and state independence." The CDPF says its ultimate goal is to liberate the occupied Romanian territories and restore a unitarian Romanian state.

Under the new CDPF program the unification of Moldova and Romania is seen as integration into one state on the basis of synchronized economic, social and cultural development, and the unification of religion, education and other public systems.

The congress adopted a resolution demanding Romanian citizenship for former Romanian citizens and their descendants "finding themselves outside Romania as a result of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact."

The CDPF decided to take part in Romania's general elections scheduled for this spring or summer.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Comments on CIS Issues, Summit

LD1602204292 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1215 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Interview with Kazakh President Nursultan Abishevich Nazarbayev by "Live Dialogue" program host Andrey Skryabin, MOSCOW NEWS columnist Lyudmila Telen, and correspondents Gadilbek Shalkhmetov and Aleksandr Samoylenko, who read questions telephoned into the program by viewers; Skryabin and Telen are in the Moscow studio, while Nazarbayev, Shalkhmetov, and Samoylenko are in the Alma-Ata studio on the "Live Dialogue" program—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Nazarbayev] Good evening, esteemed television viewers. I would like to begin my short introductory address with what concerns me as a politician and as a man. The Minsk summit just ended and I think that the results are common knowledge. The documents will be published in the media, where journalists will have the opportunity to analyze them. However, honestly, I cannot call these summits of ours and the documents adopted particularly comforting for the sole, simple reason that, while adopting and preparing decent—more or less, good—documents that are supposed to work to consolidate the Commonwealth, we do not have coordinating bodies to follow up the execution of our documents. The specific decisions we adopted—two blocks: a block of military issues and a block of economic issues, which Belarus and Kazakhstan put forward urgently this time...[changes thought] At the very end, it—I mean the economic block—had, nevertheless, to be returned to adopt it. All the documents refer to the fact that some other treaties and some other agreements will be adopted in the future. This worries me. The whole point is that the independent states, as independent ones, must tell their peoples that this independence will improve life and improve labor production. This always comes with an improved economy. This is where we are erecting all kinds of barriers instead of political independence reinforcing economic independence.

The interrelation that built up over 74 years—maybe even longer—is broken, and the economy is dragging out a miserable existence. This must be stated plainly. Paralyzing economic links, closing trade borders with licenses and quotas, economic disintegration, and so forth (?are in full bloom). If one adds, as it were, the presence of an army in each republic in the future, if there are armies, then they will investigate what is happening abroad, and so on. All sorts of reasons for claims will always be found. I do not want, so to speak...[changes thought] I am always an optimist, but I do not discount this possibility if things develop this way. All sorts of frightening predictions have already been made, but I simply do not want to talk about them. However, I do want to ask: Why should there be a tragic outcome? In the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], we have the opportunity for a good outcome, the strengthening of the Commonwealth and the flourishing of the CIS. However, we have a great deal to do to accomplish this. There is no center; there is no Gorbachev.

As soon as we talk about coordinating centers, immediately some raise these questions, among others: Coordinators again? A center again? Dictatorship again? No. After all, we want this ourselves. After three sittings, as it were, only at the last sitting—in Moscow—did Kazakhstan manage, together with Russia, to sign an agreement to remove all licenses and quotas, which, incidentally, has been received with great approval by all production workers. Incidentally, I was told this by all the industries I met in January.

So, what must we do now to strengthen it? I believe that we should set up a good, powerful coordinating center. What kind? Perhaps an assembly like the European Parliament. The West European countries met recently in Maastricht and are ready to create a united states of Europe. Second, regarding economics, we must consider and create a banking union for those within the ruble currency zone. There is no escaping this. Third, we must coordinate our pricing policy for the fundamental economic sectors, especially power and fuel. To remain in a single monetary system, we must examine coordination of monetary and credit procedures, investment procedures, and so forth. Fourth, we must lift all customs barriers. Fifth, we must harmonize our legislation to create a normal environment for our businessmen. This is what worries me. However, I will stop there to allow more time for questions. Please, go ahead with your questions.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much, Mr. President. I have some questions that have been forwarded to us. This group concerns the Minsk summit and CIS issues. Your question, Lyudmila.

[Telen] Mr. President, the argument about a coordinating center is highly indicative. Leonid Kravchuk gave the Minsk summit a four minus rating, while Stanislav Shushkevich was more optimistic and said four plus. Will events show that each republic sees in the republic only what it wants to see? Do you feel today's disagreements between CIS members and their views of the Commonwealth, their principles, are preprogrammed?

[Nazarbayev] Honestly, I greatly regret that the summit sessions are not broadcast live and that there is no openness in this respect. Our country's public should have seen for themselves the position taken by each republic. Of course, since the Commonwealth is only now coming into being—it is only two months old—it is premature to expect great things. We are still feeling our way. Differences of opinion are in no way planned in advance, I can tell you this in all honesty. However, we must not point the finger at leaders: Kravchuk, Shushkevich, Nazarbayev, Yeltsin, etc. Each republic is guided by its prevailing political situation and it is not up to each president himself to decide all the issues on behalf

of parliament and public, on behalf of political movements, and so forth. Each republic works out its own position, we solve all our problems by consensus, and I also must submit to the majority.

[Telen] Thank you. [passage omitted]

[Shalkhmetov] Nursultan Abishevich, I would like to return to the army issue. [passage omitted]

Are you satisfied with the procedure of resolving the army issues?

[Nazarbayev] A package of 13 issues was included on the agenda. President Kravchuk was unanimously elected chairman of the meeting. A 90-minute discussion was conducted after he opened the meeting, but it brought no results. It did not even bring us any closer to discussing what was on the agenda. How will we resolve all the military issues: This way or that way? Everybody expressed their views. Finally, I took the floor at the very end and said that we would not be able to get down to concrete issues until we decided the overall issues.

After all, we should all tell ourselves and the people about who wants to have a unified [obyedinennaya] army today with a single command. This is sometimes confused with a single [yedinnaya] army. This has nothing to do with Kazakhstan's position, either. Some have finally decided to create their own army. Without having resolved this... [changes thought] There are those who hold other views. Three points of view appeared: creating one's own army; a single strategic armed forces; and a common army [obshchevoyskovoye], unified forces, so to speak. Let us assume that all forces deployed on Kazakh territory have one purpose. Let us assume a separate army which is subordinated directly to the commander in chief and which we are confirming [utverzhdat] in Moscow. (?He) is appointed [naznachat] by the decree of the Kazakh president or by the order of the commander in chief, and this army, by our wish, will be part of the unified forces, with a single command. This is a clear-cut position.

Nevertheless, I still insisted after a long debate that my proposal should be put to the vote. On general army issues, three republics—Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova—create their own armies; the rest—the other eight republics—signed the document on general purpose forces, where we decided to set up a common [obshchee] command and the post of the commander of conventional forces. We were bogged down greatly by this main issue. [passage omitted]

I first asked Marshal Shaposhnikov this question when I delivered my speech. After all, we used to say, by way of criticism, that we did not know the military budget. Maybe it is now time to disclose our military budget? When we address the budget issue, perhaps we will know on what we will be spending this money? Second, what is our military doctrine at the moment? Third, by how much are our troops being reduced? Are we not deceiving those officers who will be laid off tomorrow? Are we addressing the question of their social security in the future, in terms of housing, work, and so on? No answers were given to these questions. We were told that all these issues will be reported on in a month, on 20 March. This block of issues will be published tomorrow, and I would not waste my time on them. I have my own point of view and have described how it was received.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much, Mr. President. [passage omitted]

Mr. President, I see that we have moved on to military issues. However, I must return to Minsk and CIS issues because the television viewers are asking one question after another on this subject. For instance, I think that the question asked by Viktor Grigoryevich Zhuravlev, from Inta, reflects all similar questions on this subject very well: Are you sure after the Minsk meeting that the unpublished agreements provide the main foundation for the Commonwealth of our states? Are you sure that the break-up of the Commonwealth will not follow? Are you sure that relations between Russia and Kazakhstan will not lose their stability? Do you believe in the Russian Government's sincerity as far as Kazakhstan is concerned? It seems the question boils down to the problem of whether the CIS is a stage for creating a radically new union or whether it will be the ultimate breakup of the old union.

[Nazarbayev] One Russian Government leader told me after the union disintegrated that the Soviet Union's collapse was also the collapse of the centuries-old Russian empire. I agree with this assessment. However, all the republics are rapidly abandoning the ruins and going their separate ways, running off in all directions, forgetting that their economies are so closely integrated. They need to bear this degree of integration in mind if they are to consolidate their independence, become truly independent, get their economies going, and improve the lives of their peoples. However, they are all abandoning this and going their separate ways. The questioner—Comrade Kovalev, I believe—puts it very well. The Commonwealth's future is worrying. However, it is good that we have a Commonwealth and that we—the heads of state and government—meet, talk, and consult each other on all sorts of issues despite everything.

If you want to know my view, I can tell you that I will do my utmost to encourage amalgamation within this Commonwealth, because we have no other option. I will do all I can to prevent it from falling apart. That is the worst possible scenario. All politicians would have to answer to their peoples for that. I think amalgamation is the only option, the best outcome, the best option, better than bloodshed and confrontation. That is why I believe we should not be afraid of taking action ourselves, from below—at the level of independent states—to establish coordinating structures that will ultimately strengthen the Commonwealth. We tried at our first meetings to avoid the word coordination, just like the devil avoids incense. However, we established a council for railway transportation and a council for power generation at this

last meeting, in Minsk. After all, who will supervise electricity exchanges? It only takes half a hertz to go missing and the entire grid collapses, end of story. Therefore, I stick by what I said in my introduction: I believe that people are increasingly aware that there must be some kind of coordinating bodies.

As for relations between Russia and Kazakhstan, I believe that they are as stable today as they have ever been. I want to tell all Kazakh and Russian citizens that the fact that such major ethnic groups as Kazakhs, Russians, and other nationalities have come to live in this geographical territory over the course of history will, I believe, strengthen this friendship, especially if our children and grandchildren live together peacefully. I will conclude my answer by telling our citizens, citizens throughout the former Soviet Union, that there is one thing they should not forget: We are living as European and Asian states; this is our community; historically, it is a Slavic-Turkic community, whether you like it or not; we do not want to lose it; it constitutes our strength; we will solve our problems ourselves, through this Community; the West will not find the ultimate solution to these problems.

[Telen] [passage omitted] How well do CIS leaders get along with each other?

[Nazarbayev] We said that we should open up our economies and trade with all states after destroying the old system under which we lived and creating new and open market economies. Kazakhstan is in the center of Asia and is on the road between Europe and Asia—as are the other Central Asian states—so we have good contacts and want to develop. However, name a state within the CIS which has closely aligned its economy to that of any Western country and see how much money there is to get out of that. Tell me. I would ask the Baltic Republics this question, where they think goods could be shipped in en masse and life could be great. Such reciprocal trust will probably take shape as we look to the future at what will happen with the CIS and whether it will fall through completely. There is also the political situation, the armed forces, strategic weapons, and so on. I must tell you, Lyudmila Olegovna, that I personally get along absolutely fine with all the presidents and heads of state. That has not come about overnight. I think that between the republics that have become states and between peoples... [changes thought] If we do not learn from the episodes in Transcaucasia... [changes thought] There is no reason for confrontation. What reason is there? We have everything we need to unite and begin reviving our economies, to enter the market together, and to introduce one currency together to overcome the crisis quickly. People surely can understand that.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much. Over to Alma-Ata.

[Samoylenko] I have another military question. No matter how optimistically we regard the process of dividing yesterday's single armed forces, this process is a school of alienation for many people, to a certain degree. We must now get accustomed to the fact that we are each a separate people with its own separate army. This is a new psychological situation for each citizen of the former union. The Minsk meeting demonstrates that we soon could have at least 15 armies. I understand that the army is a major symbol of statehood and independence, but it is not a flag or an anthem. It is a very dangerous structure. I do not want to foment a tragedy, but please: What about the guarantees for mutual security?

[Nazarbayev] I would like to start by saying that, since the issue was raised in this way and my proposal on who is who and who goes with whom was accepted, in general, and we adopted such a document—eight republics signed it—I proposed a statement of the heads of states (?on the nonuse of force or threat of use of force) in relation to the CIS members and adopting a corresponding convention. Such a statement was signed by all the states, and instructions were given to draw up a convention. I regarded this to be important since armies are being set up in the independent states. The whole thing is that, having obtained independence and having declared this at some time in December—as we did, for example—we are striving to bring about all the attributes of this independence all at once and in a split second, so to speak. It is true that an independent state should have all the attributes of independence: It should have its own army, it should have its own currency, and so forth. However, we have only just created our states. Let us look at how it was when other states were liberated from someone or other: There was a transitional period, and they concluded treaties. Why did China and Great Britain agree on a 10- year transition period over Hong Kong? Probably so people could opt among themselves where they should go, probably so that the economy could find its way, and so on. However, we want to create everything all at once, and with this impoverished economy, where everything is so unsteady and where we cannot create even the most elementary conditions for people, we want to create weaponry. I do not want to offend anyone. May the other states and my colleague presidents pardon me—I understand why they are going down this road, expressing their parliaments' will—but it is my opinion—and I will voice it—that a state like Kazakhstan needs some time to organize a normal defense or armed forces and to draw up a doctrine. Everyone needs this time. So, we proposed as the first point during the discussion: Let us impose a moratorium on creating our own armies for two or three years and take that time to determine what sort of army to create and how to divide the army's property. That is my opinion. Everyone will probably come around to that, but let us do so in a civilized way. Then, we will probably unite. The Warsaw Pact used to exist, and NATO does exist. Unity is the path we propose today.

[Skryabin] [passage omitted] Another question about the army, if you will permit it. Russian experts think that Kazakhstan may soon claim the right to own nuclear weapons on its territory. We would like to know the president's view on this issue.

[Nazarbayev] Thank you for the question. Western journalists ask me the same thing. I must voice Kazakhstan's position quite clearly so that our population knows our position. First, the Alma-Ata declaration signed by the CIS and the Minsk agreement of 30 December: In Alma-Ata, the four republics possessing nuclear weapons signed this document. In Minsk, they signed a document on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Russia and Kazakhstan and Ukraine and Belarus—on whose territory nuclear weapons are sited—concluded a treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and all their components. We rewrote the article that says that none of us will by any means transfer to other countries either technology or nuclear weapons. Second, all four states on whose territory nuclear weapons were at one time sited—through no fault of their own, shall we say—reassured world public opinion by signing a document in Alma-Ata saying that they entrust this button to the Russian president, the commander in chief and chief of general staff. At the same time, any decision on the use—God forbid...[changes thought] If this ever needs to be taken, it will be taken only jointly by the four of us. A special communications link has been set up for that. At the last meeting, in Minsk, we said that this is not enough: For example, what will happen if there is no time, two or three press the button, and other missiles are targetted upon these missiles. We end up in a fix and are unable to express our attitude. Therefore, we agreed to set up a special commission to work out this mechanism. Kazakhstan is singling out this issue, or the issue is being raised, because Ukraine and Belarus said they would sign the treaties as nonnuclear states. Kazakhstan does not feature in this context, although we handed over all the control [upravleniye] and everything. Why? Because the treaty signed in 1968 states that nonnuclear states are those which have not tested, not exploded, nor before 1967 possessed nuclear weapons. Through no fault of our own, Kazakhstan carried out a nuclear explosion in 1949, and there were nuclear missiles before that, too. That is the first thing. If we are nonnuclear, then we must change the treaty we signed in Minsk, because nonnuclear states must have no influence, either directly or indirectly, over the use of nuclear weapons. Our position is quite clear: We all signed that we aspire to becoming nonnuclear states. We join in all negotiating processes on reducing strategic armed forces. We are removing from Kazakhstan all tactical nuclear weapons which come under the treaty; we are withdrawing them to the territory of Russia, because nowhere else are there factories to disassemble them. Kazakhstan is participating in all other processes. If these weapons are destroyed by the United States, the former Soviet Union, and our neighbor—the PRC—then we are prepared to destroy them. That is our whole, quite clear position. [passage omitted]

[Telen] The economy depends in full measure upon political stability within the new states. In this sense, Kazakhstan is a happy exception. Those who wish you well, Mr. President, say that your motto—aimed at ethnic concord and ethnic peace in the republic—and the absence of the slogan to build a national state—which distinguishes Kazakhstan from other independent states in the CIS—is all thanks to you, personally. Others say that such a policy has been forced upon you, given Kazakhstan's ethnic position and geographical location. Tell me, please, is there any possibility of a situation in which the Kazakh leadership would put forward the slogan of a national state?

[Nazarbayev] The declaration of Kazakhstan's sovereignty and the constitutional law on Kazakhstan's independence contain this element, because each republic is formed from the name of the main, indigenous nation after which the republic is called; hence, there is Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, and Uzbekistan. Everyone knows that. Why do you ask? I am surprised at this kind of question. We, the former Soviet Union, are multiethnic states. Kazakhstan is the most multiethnic of all. We say that about 100 nations and ethnic groups live there. However, there are 300 nations and ethnic groups in the United States; no infringement, so to speak, on the legislation and rights of these people allows them to live and work normally. We lived on the other road—the road of confrontation—during the perestroyka years, in the Baltic republics, Moldavia, the Transcaucasus, and so on. Does this really not teach us anything? So, the question should, I think, be asked in that somewhat provocative way, Lyudmila [name indistinct]—forgive me, I mean this respectfully here—one should ask why all the other areas of our former Soviet Union, of the CIS, do not look at the issue in the way that Kazakhstan does: for the general good! [passage omitted]

[Telen] Thank you, Mr. President. Despite the perhaps overly trenchant way the question was phrased, I think many of our viewers heard the answer they wanted to hear.

[Shalkhmetov] Economic conflicts cannot be avoided. Economics are impossible without currency. The former currency assets which belonged to the former USSR were managed by the USSR Vneshekonombank, so they are now Russian. All of Kazakhstan's currency has, in this way, been transferred to Russian jurisdiction. Ukraine protests this. Do we not intend to protest about it, as well?

[Nazarbayev] There is nothing to protest about because the Vneshekonombank has gone bankrupt. It announced itself that it went bankrupt. We had assets there. However, to answer briefly, I would like to say with regard to the property of the former USSR that we signed a document at the last meeting in Minsk about the fact that an agreement on this matter and on the assets and liablilities of the state bank and on the property of the former union both here and abroad and on items of cultural value, that a separate document would be signed. The Russian leadership also agreed with this. I think that we will consider this in an exemplary fashion and in a calm and civilized atmosphere. However, since.... [changes thought] Of course, there are many questions like these. The money which was there is no

longer there. Both the ruble investments in the central bank by several of our banks—they cannot retrieve them either—and the foreign currency amounts from our enterprises amounting to several tens of millions of U.S. dollars—or foreign currency, let us say—are not there either. All of these matters must be addressed. [passage omitted]

[Samoylenko] I have a simpler question. Economic development is impossible without foreign currency and active foreign involvement. We recall that all of the former USSR's foreign embassies abroad have been transferred to the complete jurisdiction of Russia, and we recall that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin said that such issues will be considered if these arise. These issues are arising. Kazakhstan has diplomatic relations with Turkey. It is moving toward relations with the ROK and with Japan. Does the Russian Federation Government now remember Kazakhstan's rights to embassy offices? Will the Russian ambassadors make room? Or must Kazakhstan's ambassadors begin anew?

[Nazarbayev] Let me finish my response to the question regarding what things are like since the liberalization of prices. This is something I spoke about earlier. Of course, things are bad because we agreed that we would agree all fixed prices, and we said that we would coordinate on the base sectors of the economy, especially heating fuels. What do we have now? Every state is raising its prices and lowering its taxes on its own, so to speak, without consulting anyone, and so on. However, we agreed once again that the governments will meet and carry things out in a coordinated manner. Have you any idea what overall chaos we will have if we continue to carry out this reform separately?

As for the second question: Generally speaking, you should not always question and suspect the Russian leadership and Russian Government of all the world's sins. Actually, this is very far from the case. Being completely objective, so to speak, we should, to a certain extent, as it were, demonstrate our gratitude to the present Russian Government and the present leadership. After all, there is constant corroboration and mention of the fact that Russia is now a democratic state, that it does not want the empire's return. Surely this is why the independent states have been declared such and are developing. Instead of trying to make our relations somehow closer today...[changes thought] I appeal to the mass media and Commonwealth television—with whom, incidentally, we will be settling matters at the next sitting on the way it will operate and the way we will finance Commonwealth television in the future—I want to tell all the mass media: There is no need to seek areas of friction within a Commonwealth that is just emerging. Instead, try to bring us closer together and find what is best. Show this in the best light, and show ways in which we can move even closer together. [passage omitted]

[Telen] I think that geopolitics depends greatly on the internal structure of the new sovereign states, which will prevail. The path from totalitarianism to democracy lies through authoritarianism, you said once in an interview. Tell me, please: Is this rather a theoretical thesis? Or a guide to practical action?

[Nazarbayev] I was only talking about the economy in this context. Without democracy in politics, the democratization of our society...[changes thought] We always adopt reforms first. You recall how it was under Kosygin, Khrushchev, and so on. This is often brought to mind. Everything came up against the fact that we had not democratized society. However, we have allowed the entire economy to disintegrate with the democratization of society. No other state which has switched to a market economy outside of our former union has made the transition in such a state of chaos. I meant that you must have civilized authoritarianism in the economy—that is, discipline. The key economic sectors fell approximately 20-30 percent in January. We have been destroying what we and all of our generations created prior to this—the interrelations—and now we are continuing to destroy what remains. The main thing is to raise production, not monetarily and not through raising prices, like now, but through the actual production of consumer goods, food, machines, and so on. The Minsk tractor works has come to a standstill because its 2,000 suppliers of all kinds are not supplying them. Kazakhstan is in a favorable situation because we mine ore at home, and we smelt it in our metallurgical works. This is often the case, and so we in Kazakhstan.... [changes thought] I have confirmed the heads of administration for all oblasts so that we can strengthen vertical power, transition to a market economy that is regulated from the outset. We must enliven the economy—jointly, of course—with the independent states somehow for without each another.... [changes thought] Whatever anyone wants.... [changes thought] Perhaps some do not like it, but the former republics cannot raise the economy for a year or even six months without each other.

[Shalkhmetov] First, I would like to thank my Moscow colleagues for a smooth run of this program. We have just a few minutes left. Nursultan Abishevich, you will probably say now that we have failed to ask you some questions. What would you like to say at the end of this program?

[Nazarbayev] I take this opportunity to thank the correspondents who have worked with me. I wish them all the best. I wish the same to Commonwealth [sodruzhestvo] television. I would like to appeal to all Commonwealth states and their peoples: The present time is very difficult and very critical; we have approached a crucial period. I addressed this at all my preelection meetings. I have said that the transition to new conditions, the transition to the market economy, is painful. People must have faith in us. They elected us, and we are trying to find every possible way or program to improve the life of the people, first and foremost. There should be no confrontation between peoples at this critical time, and there should be no provocations which might fuel the bloodshed after which we would be unable to put an end to this confrontation. This is of great importance. Our

state is situated both in Europe and in Asia. We have a common mentality, common knowledge, and a common Commonwealth like one, single people.

I repeat: We should bear in mind that our Turkish-Slavonic community, all our values and our strength, all this is within ourselves. One should not rely upon someone flying in and feeding the 300 million people. Of course, we are grateful to Western states for helping us at a difficult time. We must raise the economy jointly, and all our politicians must shake off all their ambitions. We should concentrate on this. We can proceed in this direction, provided there is goodwill within the CIS. I hope we have more patience; I hope we are successful; and I hope this year we all have a life that is a little bit better than before, if possible. All the best.

[Skryabin] Thank you very much, Mr. President. I thank you and all the participants in today's conversation, as well as viewers. Our program has come to an end. All the best to you all.

[Telen] Goodbye!

Tajikistan

Baker, Nabiyev Hold News Conference on Talks

LD1402202892 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1800 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Talks between Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who is in Tajikistan on a working visit, continued today. The one-on-one talks were held at the secretary of state's residence.

Following the conclusion of their talks, James Baker and Rakhman Nabiyev talked to the press. Baker expressed gratitude to the people of Tajikistan and to President Rakhman Nabiyev and his colleagues for the sincere hospitality accorded to him. He added: I was very pleased with what the president had to say, that Tajikistan will adhere to the principles of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and will respect human rights, the rights of national minorities, and the existing borders. I am confident that we will cooperate in the future to our mutual interest and will develop relations between Tajikistan and the United States. I would also like to stress that the United States supports efforts by Tajikistan to consolidate democracy and transfer to a market economy. Baker wished the Tajik people success and prosperity.

Nabiyev expressed gratitude to Baker for his good wishes. He said that he is satisfied with the results of the talks. The people of Tajikistan have appreciated the visit by a prestigious U.S. delegation, headed by the world-famous political and state figure Mr. Baker. Nabiyev asked his guest to convey a message on behalf of the Tajik people to the people of the United States and to President George Bush personally for their recognition of Tajikistan's independence.

With this, the talks ended. The same day, Secretary of State Baker and his entourage left for [word indistinct]. At Dushanbe Airport, the esteemed guest was seen off by Deputy Prime Minister Saidmurodov, Deputy Foreign Minister Rahmatulloyev, and other officials.

Baker Departs for Urals

OW1402153392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] This morning (February 14) US Secretary of State James Baker left Tajikistan for the Urals, making no statement for the press in Dushanbe airport before his departure.

Earlier on Mr. Baker and Tajik President Rakhman Nabiyev had had negotiations on the establishment of diplomatic relations between their two countries. Their next meeting last night was a closed one, and it was not reported what subjects they dealt with, although it had been expected they would discuss economic cooperation between the United States and Tajikistan.

Opposition Criticizes Baker

MK1502075092 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Feb 92 p 3

[Oleg Panfilov report: "Tajikistan: 'It Would Have Been Better If Baker Had Met the Opposition'; the 'Other Side' on the U.S. Secretary of State's Visit"]

[Text] While reporting on U.S. Secretary of State Baker's visit to Dushanbe and his meeting with Tajik President Nabiyev, Radio Liberty and VOA have indicated that Nabiyev tried to persuade Baker that a democratic process is under way in Tajikistan. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's correspondent asked opposition leaders to comment on this.

Shodmon Yusuf, chairman of the Tajik Democratic Party: "It would have been more useful for Mr. Baker to meet with the opposition. It is shortsighted policy to predict Tajikistan's future in the current conditions. He should have heard out the other side, because he will have to work with it in the future. We welcome the U.S.-Tajik relationship, but you have to know the other side of the "truth" as well. I can say that the president is not in control of the political situation in Tajikistan. Even on Remembrance Day marking the events of February 1990 the Republic's leadership laid flowers at the obelisk to the victims of the tragedy in secret, yet television presented this differently."

Davlat Usmon, deputy chairman of the Islamic Revival Party: "There are no democratic transformations, television is in the president's hands, opposition newspapers are under constant pressure, and the president is ordering 8 million rubles in subsidies to be allocated to the official press and former Communist publications."

Delegates Remark on Minsk Summit Accords

OW1702214192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Minsk meeting sparked the hope that Tajikistan will soon overcome its economic crisis, the economic adviser to the Tajik President Rustam Mirzoyev, who was part of the Tajik delegation to the Minsk meetings, told INTERFAX. He noted the decision reached in the Belarus capital on the unblocking of shipments between CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] nations and the strict sanctions against those who interfere in shipments.

Another member of the delegation, the Chairman of the Committee on National Defence Major General Farrukh Niyazov expressed his satisfaction with the results of discussions on military questions. He said that Tajikistan is one of eight republics that agreed to a united command of all forces, not just strategic. He considered the fact that Russia will be responsible for a significant portion of the cost of maintaining forces in Tajikistan of great importance.

Uzbekistan

U.S. Secretary of State Baker Begins Visit

Arrives 15 Feb

PM1602222792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 92 p 1

[Correspondent Adilbek Kaipbergenov report: "U.S. Secretary of State in Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Tashkent—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Tashkent on the evening of 15 February following a whirlwind tour of a number of former Soviet republics. This was his first trip to this major Central Asian republic.

The first journalistic sensation occurred right at Tashkent Airport, where the Uzbek president—in a breach of established protocol—arrived to greet the high-ranking representative of the current White House administration a few minutes before the Boeing touched down. And I think this was not so much an impulsive step in the best traditions of oriental hospitality as a continuation of Islam Karimov's "sincere diplomacy." Somewhat later there was a meeting at a government residence in the country between the president, parliamentary speaker Shavkat Yuldashev, Prime Minister Abdulkhashim Mutalov, and James Baker.

Early on the morning of 16 February official talks began at the Uzbek president's residence. Answering journalists' questions before the talks began, Islam Karimov stressed that the republic is striving to move down the road of building an open society without the diktat of a single ideology.

Talking about the prospects for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the secretary of state said that a decision on this issue would be made after he reported back to the U.S. President.

According to information from unofficial sources, the closed-door talks will cover not only the prospects for arranging bilateral relations, but other problems too. In particular, possible export customers for the raw material mined from the uranium deposits located on the republic's territory. The head of the State Department is unlikely to overlook the new foreign policy guidelines in Uzbekistan, where the overwhelming majority of the population profess Islam. And, clearly, he will receive firsthand confirmation, as they say, that Islam Karimov's pragmatic government has chosen the secular "Turkish model" of reforms.

Goals Outlined

OW1602132892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The main objective of U.S. State Secretary James Baker's visit to Uzbekistan is to study the republican political situation and the possibility of diplomatic relations between U.S. and Uzbekistan, it was said at a Tashkent press-conference attended by Baker and Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov on the morning of February 16. The state secretary had arrived in Tashkent on the previous evening.

Baker emphasized that Uzbekistan must show its commitment to democratic reforms and human rights before the U.S. would establish relations with it.

The republic is experiencing major democratic transformations, said Karimov. For example, Uzbekistan recently held its first-ever contested presidential elections. The president said that the Western press did not have objective information about Uzbekistan because Moscow-based newspapers and news agencies present a "one-sided" picture of Uzbekistan's life.

Karimov expressed the hope that the talks with Baker would strengthen ties between the two states, including informational ties.

On February 16 Baker met in Tashkent with Birlik, a popular movement in the republic. The details of the meeting are not yet known.

Baker and Karimov will visit the city of Samarkand. Sunday [16 February] evening the U.S. secretary of state will leave Tashkent for Moscow.

Talks With Opposition Leaders

LD1602214692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1900 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] After the start of "Operation Provide Hope," U.S. Secretary of State James Baker flew to us and last week made a lightning tour of six Commonwealth republics. He paid visits to Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan, after which he visited Tashkent. On Sunday, 16 February, he held a meeting with Uzbek President Islam Karimov. Anvar Usmanov reports:

[Begin Usmanov recording] The sides exchanged information on a number of vital problems and issues. In particular there was discussion of economic cooperation, and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Uzbekistan. Immediately after this meeting, there was a meeting between Baker and the opposition party, Birlik. There was also a news conference at which Baker was asked: Why is it that you meet the opposition only in Uzbekistan and you did not meet them in other republics? To this, Baker replied that the confrontation between the official authorities and the opposition is more typical in Uzbekistan. I think that I am right to meet this opposition. Abdulrakhim Pulatov, the leader of Birlik, told Baker of the problems of democratizing the country, and also received Baker's assurance of support in the cause of democratic transformations.

Also today, U.S. Secretary of State Baker travelled after lunch to Samarkand where he viewed the sights of the ancient city, and late in the evening returned to Tashkent. [end recording]

'Satisfied' With Talks

OW1702111792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1043 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

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According to Baker, there are good prospects for economic cooperation between the United States and Uzbekistan. The final say on whether or not diplomatic relations will be established between the two countries is reserved for President Bush.

Uzbekistan

U.S. Secretary of State Baker Begins Visit

Arrives 15 Feb

PM1602222792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 92 p 1

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Armenia

Republics Spar Over Nagorno-Karabakh Issue

UN Asked To Help

LD1702174892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1659 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By unidentified ARMENPRES-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Yerevan, 17 Feb (TASS)—The Armenian Supreme Soviet appealed today to the members of the UN Security Council, the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the standing bodies of the CSCE, and a number of other international organizations accusing Azerbaijan of violations against the UN Charter and human rights and of genocide against the Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. The parliament demanded that the issue be included on the UN Security Council agenda immediately.

The statement points to "acts against the civilian population of Nagorno-Karabakh which are unprecedented in scale and cruelty." It is pointed out that Azerbaijan "is making use of types of weapons of mass destruction that are banned under international conventions."

Response to Protest Note

NC1502193592 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] The Armenian Foreign Ministry has received a protest note from the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry. The note says: "Due to the unprecedented savagery committed by Armenian bandits, the intensity of the conflict in the mountainous Karabakh region and on the borders of Armenia has reached its nadir. The cruel operations of those who implement Armenia's covetous plans cast doubt on the possibility of overcoming the crisis politically. The Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry resolutely protests the criminal activities of Armenian guerrillas and demands that Azerbaijan's sovereign rights be consistently respected."

The Armenian Foreign Ministry has issued the following reply to the 4 February 1992 protest note from the Azerbaijani Foreign Ministry:

It has been possible to maintain relative calm along the borders between Armenia and Azerbaijan despite the intensified aggression against the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic in the last few months.

Provocative shootings into Armenia continue, however, as do occasional attacks on Armenian's border regions. In early February, settlements in Armenia's Kapanskiy and Tavushskiy Rayons were fired upon by armed groups from Azerbaijan's Kubatlinsky, Zangelanskiy, and Tauzskiy Rayons. Those infringements were checked by Armenian border security forces.

Armenia interprets such acts by Azerbaijan's armed groups as a desire by the Azerbaijani leadership to drag Armenia into armed conflict so that it can present the current conflict between Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh as an armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. To this end the facts have been intentionally distorted and sometimes blatantly falsified, which can only be regarded as an attempt to mislead public opinion.

The Armenian Foreign Ministry expresses serious concern at Azerbaijan's stance and actions and calls on the Azerbaijani leadership to display appropriate responsibility and join the search for a political settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

Talks Set for 20 Feb

OW1602134192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1255 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenia will negotiate Nagorno-Karabakh in Moscow with Azerbaijan on February 20, said Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan at a February 15 meeting in Yerevan called at the initiative of a special parliamentary commission for Artsakh (the Armenian name for Nagorno-Karabakh), reports the news agency Snark. The Armenian president spoke at the meeting in favor of creating a CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] peacekeeping force and moving it into Nagorno-Karabakh. Barring this, UN forces should be moved into the area. Other CIS countries support the idea, said Ter-Petrosyan.

Azerbaijan

Nagorno-Karabakh Dispute Becomes 'Emergency'

Mutalibov Leaves Minsk

LD1402204192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov has urgently left Minsk and flown to Baku. A special report from Minsk by Leonid Sveridov:

[Sveridov] Rasim Agayev, the Azerbaijani president's press secretary, made a statement to journalists. I quote: We are forced to leave Minsk earlier than the proposed date. Ayaz Mutalibov cannot take part in the news conference in view of the fact that an emergency report has arrived from Baku that the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh has become drastically more acute. Armored vehicles, tanks, and infantry-fighting vehicles from the 366th regiment stationed in Khankendi-Stepanakert, which were discussed at the meeting of Commonwealth of Independent States heads of state, have begun a major attack on the city of Khodzhaly. The city is under fire and this threatens much unpleasantness, said Rasim Agayev, press secretary of the Azerbaijani president.

Marshal Shaposhnikov keeps this regiment as a tool for exerting pressure on Azerbaijan, Rasim Agayev said. Shaposhnikov said that he intends to send experts to investigate the complaint on Monday [17 February]. Rasim Agayev fully repudiated this reaction by Marshal Shaposhnikov.

It has just become known that Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev is also leaving Minsk.

Accusations Exchanged

PM1602192592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Nikolay Burbyga report: "Azerbaijan and Armenia Exchange Notes and Salvos"]

[Text] Rafael Guseynov, Azerbaijan's first deputy official representative in Moscow, has told the editorial office that the last major village on the approach to Shusha has been seized by Armenian gunmen. There are now only two population centers inhabited by Azerbaijanis in the mountains of Nagorno-Karabakh—Shusha and Khodzhaly.

The city of Shusha was shelled throughout the night of 13-14 February according to Guseynov. According to information available to the Azerbaijani side, the 81st Rifle Regiment of the former Soviet Army, based in Khankendi (Stepanakert), took part in the shelling. In this connection Azerbaijani President Ayaz Mutalibov, who is in Minsk, intends to demand that the commander in chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces withdraw the regiment from Nagorno-Karabakh.

Azerbaijan's foreign policy department is pinning all the blame for the sharp deterioration in the Nagorno-Karabakh situation on the Armenian side, accusing it of infringing sovereign Azerbaijan's rights. The note states, in particular: "The escalation of the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh and the regions bordering Armenia has reached its zenith as a result of the unprecedented scale of the excesses carried out by Armenian bandit groups. The cruel actions taken by those carrying out Armenia's expansionist plans cast doubt on the possibility of exiting the crisis situation by political means."

Responding with its own note, the Armenian Foreign Ministry refuted these accusations and called on the neighboring republic to show due responsibility and become involved in the process of seeking a political solution to the problem. "For the past few months aggression over the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic has continued to escalate," the note states. "Instances of provocative shelling and attacks on Armenian border areas from Azerbaijani territory have continued. These actions have been curtailed by forces protecting the Armenian border. Armenia assesses such actions by Azerbaijani military formations as demonstrating a desire on the part of the Azerbaijani leadership to involve Armenia in the conflict."

After U.S. Secretary of State Baker flew out of Azerbaijan Stepanakert came under artillery bombardment, the editorial office was told by Mikit Kazaryan, leader of the apparatus of Armenia's permanent mission in Moscow.

Khosrov Arutyunyan, member of the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium, reported that, according to the information available to him, Azerbaijan is preparing to stage a large-scale operation. To this end, two combat helicopters and many unguided rockets have been purloined from the military. He also reported that the women of Stepanakert appealed today to the Commonwealth heads of state not to allow the Stepanakert regiment to be withdrawn from the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic. The message expresses concern at the fact that at the coming CIS summit the Azerbaijani leadership intends to arrange for all the military hardware belonging to Soviet Army units deployed in Azerbaijan to be placed under that republic's control as well as to arrange for the withdrawal of the Stepanakert regiment from the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic.

"We announce the creation of the 'Women Sentenced to Death' social organization. We are lying under tank and APC tracks so as to prevent the withdrawal of servicemen and equipment—because the Stepanakert regiment is our only and last hope of saving our children's lives," the statement says.

Appeal Issued to UN

NC1502133292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 12 Feb 92

["Text" of the Republic of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet National Council appeal to the UN Security Council; date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The Republic of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet National Council appeals to the UN Security Council to condemn the Republic of Armenia's unpunished aggression, which has continued for four years. Regardless of the measures taken by Azerbaijan's political leaders to stabilize the situation in the mountainous region in Nagorno-Karabakh, which is a part of Azerbaijan, and resolve the existing problems in the region in accordance with Azerbaijan's Constitution, the provisions of international law, and pertinent UN resolutions, the Republic of Armenia continues to intensify its aggression against the Republic of Azerbaijan in order to seize part of its territory. Armenia has occupied several areas in the Republic of Azerbaijan, including Kerpi town in Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, for two years now.

The fabrications Armenia and Armenian expatriates have spread worldwide on the question of who has jurisdiction over the territory of Karabakh and Armenia's right to self-determination in Karabakh conflict with historical facts and the principles of international unity. The Armenian leaders' illegal activities have resulted in the infiltration of armed bandits into Azerbaijan, provocations by nationalist elements, pressure on

people to disregard the legal government organs, the organization of terrorist activities against the peaceful Azerbaijani people, the destruction of Azerbaijani property, and the death of hundreds of people, including women and children. This situation indicates that Armenian leaders wish deliberately to expand the Armenian-Azerbaijani dispute and turn it into a problem that will pose a real threat to peace not only in the Near East and Middle East regions, but also in southern Europe.

Taking national and humanitarian traditions as a guide and heeding the democratic principles of international relations, the sovereign and independent Republic of Azerbaijan has repeatedly urged the Armenian leaders to abandon their policy of terrorism, refrain from interfering in Azerbaijan's internal affairs, move to take part in peaceful negotiations, and agree to peacefully resolve all the problems. But the response to this approach came in the form of new and wide-ranging military operations against the Azerbaijani border and towns. A new provocative effort was made to establish illegal administrative organs in Karabakh and remove that region from Azerbaijan's jurisdiction.

The nature of Armenia's effort to seize part of the territory of the Republic of Azerbaijan is an aggression, which can be described as state terrorism. This effort has been maintained for four years.

The Republic of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet National Council has adequate evidence in hand to confirm what has been outlined thus far.

Pointing to the threat Armenia's policy of aggression poses to the troubled world at present, and reaffirming the need to obstruct aggression and acts of terrorism, the National Council expresses the hope that the UN Security Council will objectively assess the existing situation and adopt a resolution which will comply with the spirit of international unity and the UN documents.

The National Council has announced that it is prepared to send an authorized delegation to the UN Security Council. It has announced that it is prepared to receive an authorized UN delegation which will be assigned to make an on-the-spot study of the situation.

[Signed] The Republic of Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet National Council.

Armenia Said Preparing Annexation

TA1802122092 Ankara Turkiye Radyolari Network in Turkish 1100 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Azerbaijani Prime Minister Gasan Gasanov has charged that Armenia intends to annex Nagorno-Karabakh and that it is making the military preparations to do so.

On his way to Brussels as the guest of the European Parliament Foreign Affairs Committee, Gasanov told ANATOLIA that the Armenians are preparing a strong military buildup in the (Lachin) region between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia and are getting ready to launch an attack. He stressed that the Armenians are making unfounded allegations about Nagorno-Karabakh. He said that he will disclose all the facts at the European Parliament.

Gasanov explained that the Armenians are purchasing arms and that the many Armenians living in other parts of the world are sending help to their motherland. Azerbaijan, which lacks even an organized army, does not have the necessary means to prevent the annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh by the Armenians, he said.

Georgia

Minsk Delegate Endorses Shaposhnikov Plan

OW1602173392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1623 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Nodar Georgadze, Georgia's deputy defense minister, told journalists in Tbilisi on Sunday [16 February] that he supported Marshal Shaposhnikov's proposal that all troops with their attached hardware and other property transfer to the jurisdiction of the republics on whose territory they are stationed. Georgadze described that proposal, advanced by the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] armed forces commander-in-chief at the summit in Minsk with the only condition that a joint command be formed to fulfill coordinating functions, as "promising and acceptable—at least as far as Georgia is concerned." The deputy minister stressed that "the major attribute of any country's sovereignty is an army of its own."

He said the Georgian delegation, which had attended the Minsk meeting as an observer, protested to Russia over its sale during the past few months of a number of submarines, a destroyer and a cruiser registered with the Black Sea Fleet.

Official on Claiming Part of Black Sea Fleet

OW1402182192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgian Defence Minister General Lieutenant Levan Sharashenidze stated that his republic "is not hurrying to create its own army, but definitely will in the future as armed forces are an asset to any sovereign state". Sharashenidze commented in an interview with INTERFAX that in the meantime "we will 'nurture' the national guard which has struck up the best of relations" with the forces of the Caucasus military district.

Sharashenidze is heading a group of observers from Georgia at the Minsk summit.

The Georgian Defence Minister said that Georgia "will definitely claim part of the Black Sea Fleet". He said that Georgia had contributed to the creation of the fleet as well as all military forces of the former USSR.

According to Sharashenidze Georgia is ready to defend its borders. However, in his estimation, "this is not a problem of the immediate future".

Discussing his opinion of the CIS's [Commonwealth of Independent States] military policy Sharashenidze said that Georgia is currently developing its own concept in this area. He added that the economic situation in the republic is complicating the creation of its own army.

Gamsakhurdia Reportedly Suffers Stroke

LD1402191192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] As we have learned from reliable sources, former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia has suffered a stroke. At the present moment his condition does not pose a threat to his life, the YUG news agency reports.

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Stage Rallies

OW1502184692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1627 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Georgian Military Council's press center, on Thursday and Friday [13 and 14 February] not [as received] numerous Gamsakhurdia supporters staged rallies in Sukhumi, Poti and Senaki. No incidents have been reported.

In general, the situation in Georgia and Abkhazia is grave. Due to the shortages of electric power, schools and enterprises are standing idle, traffic has been limited.

More Violence Reported in South Ossetia

AU1702103692 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0300 GMT 16 Feb

[Text] The situation is again tense in Samachablo [South Ossetia] and in the Georgian villages there.

Residents are alarmed by the violence committed by Ossetian extremists. Officers and soldiers belonging to the internal troops located in Tskhinvali are also terrorizing the local population. Recently, a military vehicle carrying nine soldiers and one officer drove into the village of [name indistinct] in Gori rayon. They were armed with automatic weapons. They blocked the road in the center of the village and began to rob the villagers. They stopped a taxi carrying two ordinary workers of the Republic's Internal Ministry special (?unit), Vakhtang Kristiashvili and Akaki Maisuradze. The military forcibly confiscated from one of them a Makarov pistol which he was authorized to carry. Maisuradze did not surrender his weapon and was wounded as a result. Criminal proceedings and an investigation have begun.

The situation is now such that it is not only dangerous to drive but also to walk along the Gori-Tskhinvali highway. The soldiers have become so brazen that they now go to Gori to rob people. The local population could curb the actions of those committing these excesses, but they are refraining from doing so as they (?do not want this to be viewed) as provocation. One can see no end to the brazenness of the units of the internal troops.